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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1928



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CONTINUITY OF ROMANIANS PROVED BY NOTES OF HUNGARIAN SCRIBE

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 4, 11 Sep 81

Article by Stelian Brezeanu: "Chronicles of Anonymus and Romanian Continuity"

11 Sep 81, p 57

Text Among the works of historical-political literature in the Middle Ages, "Gesta Hungarorum (Deeds of the Hungarians)," written by King Bela's anonymous scribe known to modern historiography by the conventional name of *Anonymus*, met with what must be one of the most uncommon fates. Discovered in the middle of the 18th century after a half millennium of oblivion and published by J. G. Schwandtner and M. Bal, *Anonymus'* work immediately became an object of admiration of the learned world of the time, which was only to be completely reversed in the opinion of most historians in the 19th century. As Balint Homan wrote half a century ago in an attempt to sum up the controversies surrounding *Anonymus*, "There was a time when the Hungarian historians were ready to swear by him as upon the Bible and considered him 'the father of Hungarian historiography'. In the second half of the last century this veneration changed to an extreme scepticism. Hungarian and foreign scholars...regarded his work as miserable pedantry, a poetic fantasy and a fable hardly worthy of serious study." Homan's account fails to explain the said historians' change of attitude toward *Anonymus'* work. The first signs of the modern historians' distrust of the documentary value of the anonymous Hungarian's work appeared at the end of the 18th century, when the national movement of the Romanians in Transylvania and the political use of the idea of continuity, which became a main argument in the ideology of the young Romanian bourgeoisie in the struggle for political emancipation, was to provoke a reaction from a large part of the Hungarian and German historians serving the interests of the Hapsburg dynasty. Since Bela's *Anonymus* was bringing evidence in support of the theory of continuity by attesting the Romanians' presence in Transylvania and Pannonia at the time when the Magyar tribes were appearing in the Danube basin, his work had to be eliminated from the sources on the medieval beginnings of Romanian history. The discrediting of *Anonymus*, still timid on the part of the first adversaries of the idea of continuity, became decisive with R. Roessler, who considered him "more of an ignoramus than a fraud," the main fault of the author of the "deeds" of the Hungarians being disregard of his own people's interests in mentioning Romanians among the populations encountered by the Magyar invaders in Pannonia and Transylvania. The problem was accordingly shifted from scientific grounds to support the political interests of Austro-Hungarian rule in Transylvania. This view was adopted and developed by some Hungarian historians. B. Homan, most of whose conclusions have been

accepted and developed by historical researchers in the last few decades, thought that "P. dictus magister, quondam regis Bela notarius" was a contemporary of King Bela III (1172-1196) who wrote the *Gesta* between 1200 and 1210, although important linguistic, paleographic and even historical arguments bear out the hypothesis that the anonymous Hungarian was the scribe of Bela II (1131-1141) and that the work was consequently written about 1150. As for the sources, *Anonymus'* chronicle is largely based on an older chronicle written at the court of the Hungarian kings at the end of the 11th century which is lost today but was adapted by Bela's scribe, who was educated in the Parisian environment of the 12th century, to the model of the *gestes* of chivalry in vogue in French society of the time. Like the authors of the *gestes* of chivalry, *Anonymus* celebrated the deeds of arms of the Hungarian kings and nobles and made the conquest of Pannonia by the nomadic Hungarian tribes and the looting campaigns in the West and in the Balkans that followed that campaign the central episode of his narrative. But the resemblances to the contemporary literature of chivalry stopped there, because the anonymous Hungarian had a personality of his own and used many sources in the preparation of his work which he treated critically, deliberately rejecting oral tradition. Historical research on *Anonymus'* work revealed an essential fact to be considered in determining its documentary value. As a spokesman of the old Magyar nobility, he made of the "*Gesta Hungarorum*" a militant work serving the interests of the descendants of Arpad's comrades at arms. Moreover the anonymous Hungarian was one of the representatives of "national propaganda," like John of Salisbury in England, Vicentius Hispanus in Spain or Suger and Raoul Glaber in France, in the struggle to assert the rights of the young European monarchies against the last attempt of imperial universalism (Byzantine and German) to regain lost ground. Accordingly Hungarian history of the 9th-10th centuries was interpreted in the light of the interests of Arpadian society in the 12th-13th centuries, whence come many of the author's learned interpretations introduced in the narrative that were based upon information taken from his sources or from personal experience. In this light, the *Gesta* is primarily a historical document of the 12th-13th centuries, the time in which the author lived.

Anonymus' work is unquestionably important for the medieval beginnings of Romanian history. In this respect modern historians' attention was attracted by some ethnic terms in the anonymous Hungarian's work. The first of the series is the term "*Romans*." The "*Romans*" were driven from Pannonia by Attila when the Hun king laid the foundations of his kingdom (Chapter 1). But they returned to Pannonia after Attila's death and the Huns' downfall, on which occasion the "*Roman princes*" settled "shepherds" there (Chapter 11). The "*Romans'*" rule in Pannonia lasted until the coming of Arpad, whom *Anonymus* considered the legitimate successor of Attila and who drove them from the region and regained the Hun kingdom (Chapters 46, 48). And finally, at the time *Anonymus* wrote the "*Romans*" were still pasturing their flocks in the Hungarian regions (Chapter 9). Modern historians have not agreed upon the identity of the "*Romans*" in the *Gesta*. They have been identified in turn with the ancient Romans, the Carolingian Franks, the imperial Germans, the Byzantines, the Romanized population in the Alps, and the Romanians. But a systematic inquiry into the ethnic significance of the term *Romanus* in the medieval sources of the 9th-12th centuries indicates the meaning of the term was limited to the population of Rome. Therefore the "*Romans*" in the *Gesta* who ruled Pannonia before the Hun conquest were exclusively inhabitants of Rome, just as they and their leaders were also the "*Romans*" and "*Roman princes*" who occupied the region between Attila's death and Arpad's conquest. In the latter case we unquestionably have to deal with a learned interpretation of *Anonymus* without historical ground. And finally the "*Roman*" contemporaries of the author who were pasturing their flocks in the Hungarian regions are to be identified with the high Catholic prelates of Roman origin brought to Hungary by the church and the royalty.

The second term in the *Gesta*, just as controversial as the first, is the ethnic designation Blachi-Blasi-Blaci. The term appears for the first time in Chapter 9 of the work, wherein *Anonymous* refers to the populations encountered by the Hungarian conquerors of Pannonia and mentions "Blachi" or "the Roman shepherds" in addition to "Slavs and Bulgars." The term occurs again in the episode about the conquest of Transylvania by Magyars (Chapters 24-27), who were to do battle there with Gelu "the Vlach" (quidam Blacus), the "Duke of the Vlachs" (dux Blacorum), who ruled over a population of "Vlachs and Slavs" (Blasi et Sclavi). The term occurs in *Anonymous* for the last time in Chapter 44, where the author refers to Arpad's battles with Duke Glad in the Banat, who had in his army "Cumanians, Bulgarians and Vlachs" (cum magno exercitu ... Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blacorum). For Romanian and most foreign historians *Anonymous'* "Vlachs" are, regardless of their location, Romanians and descendants of the Romanized population in the Danube basin whom the Magyar conquerors encountered in Transylvania, the Banat and Pannonia. The Hungarian historians' views are divided. For most of them as well as some foreign ones, the "Vlachs" of Gelu and Glad are Romanians, but some of them, maintain *Anonymous*, committed an anachronism by introducing the Romanians in his account of events of the 9th-10th centuries because they did not appear north of the Danube until the turn of the 12th-13th centuries, coming from the Asanesti empire in the Balkans. On the other hand the "Vlachs" in Pannonia have sometimes been identified with the Romanians, sometimes with the Romanized Franks, and sometimes with the remnants of the Romanized population from the Alps and accordingly with the western Latin population. For other Hungarian historians (Gy. Kristo) the "Vlachs" in Pannonia are also Romanians but nevertheless a pure invention of the author of the *Gesta*, who introduced the Romanians south of the Danube in the narrative for unexplained reasons. Let us remember that these Hungarian historians accept the presence in Pannonia and Transylvania of all the populations (Slavs, Bulgars, Bohemians, Germans et al.) attested by *Anonymous* in the region for the 9th-10th centuries with the exception of the Romanians.

Consideration of the ethnic term Blachi and its variants (Vlachi, Blacki) in the Latin sources of the 11th-13th centuries proves beyond any possible doubt that the form is a Latin transliteration of the Greek form Blachoi. Therefore the ethnic term Blachi and its variants originated in the Byzantine world, through which westerners came to know the descendants of the eastern Romans in the 10th-13th centuries. Since the Byzantines designated the European Romans of the Eastern Empire by this name alone, it goes without saying that the Latin authors (including the Hungarian chroniclers) adopted the ethnic term in that sense. Therefore the Latin sources could not have used this term to mean the western neo-Latin populations, which were called exclusively by names derived directly, and not through Byzantine or Slavic intermediaries, from the German Walch-Walach, namely Welschen for the French and Walchen for the Romanics in Rhaetia or Noricum. Consequently the Blaci or Blasi located by *Anonymous* in Transylvania and the Banat and the Blachi located in Pannonia could only be the Romanians, especially since the information of Béla's *Anonymous* entirely agrees with that of Simon de Keza and the Hungarian chroniclers in the 14th-15th centuries, who liken the Blacki or Vlachi in Pannonia and Transylvania to the Romanians known to them in the Carpatho-Danubian area.

The "shepherds of the Romans (pastores Romanorum)" is the last of the series of ethnic terms in the *Gesta Hungarorum* that concerns the history of the Romanians in the 9th-13th centuries. It first occurs in Chapter 9, where the populations in Pannonia before Arpad's conquest are listed, namely "Slavs, Bulgars and Vlachs or shepherds of the Romans (Sclavi, Bulgari et Blachi ac pastores Romanorum)." The "shepherds of the Romans" are also mentioned in Chapter 11, where the author tries to explain their

presence in Pannonia by the events on the middle Danube after Attila's death, when the "Roman princes" took over the region and settled their "shepherds" there. This gave rise to the traditional identification of Pannonia with the "Romans' pastures (pascua Romanorum)." The problem of the ethnic identity of the "shepherds of the Romans" has also been variously interpreted in the subject literature. The Hungarian historians opposed to continuity and some foreign ones regard them as a Romanized population of western origin or as an unidentified pastoral population. The Romanian and many foreign historians identify these pastores Romanorum with the Romanians. The latter identification is borne out both by the report of Bela's *Anonymous* concerning the "Blachi ac pastores Romanorum" (where the particle "ac" has an explicative force meaning "namely," "or") and especially the information of Simon de Keza and the Hungarian chronicles inspired by the Bihorian cleric's work to the effect that the "Vlachs" or Romanians were "shepherds and colonists" of the Romans. This designation of the Romanized population in the Danube basin expresses the idea of its Latin origin as well as the deteriorated living conditions of the Pannonian Romans in the millenium of the great migration.

11 Sep 81, p 47

[Text] The studies made in the last few decades by the opponents of Romanian continuity in the Carpatho-Danubian area specially emphasized the heterogeneity of the sources *Bela's Anonymous* used in preparing his work, sources of varied origin and unequal value. We do not intend to discuss below the conclusions from these studies, which are not invariably convincing. The said researchers exhibit a tendency to emphasize the "letter" of often superficial literary similarities in the *Gesta* to other works, to include them among their possible sources, and finally to study the circulation of a given theme included in a work, viewing the author as a collector of literary themes rather than a militant intellectual of the 12th century, all to the detriment of his work as a whole and the spirit in which it was written. Therefore it is more important to explain the function of each one of *Anonymous'* borrowings or of the learned interpretations in the work in its historical perspective than it is to set forth the sum of his borrowings. And the relationships of *Anonymous'* political outlook to the European patriotic propaganda of the 12th-13th centuries serving the "national" monarchies are no less important to the question under discussion. The anti-imperial attitude, the illustrious ancient origin of the people and even of the dynasty, and the "historic right" of the kingdom to rule over its own territory are among the points in common of this propaganda with its representatives in France and England, in Spain and Denmark, and in Sicily and Denmark. We find these features in the anonymous Hungarian's work. The author's completely anti-imperial attitude and assertion of the superiority of the Magyars over the two imperial peoples of the time, the Byzantines and the Germans, are made very clear, just as clear as the theory in the *Gesta* of the Hun origin of the Magyar people and the descent of the Arpadian kings from Attila, a theory with a political function obviously based on the need to legitimize the rule of the Magyar kingdom over Pannonia and the populations Arpad encountered in the conquered territories. This last aspect of the political view of the author of the *Deeds of the Hungarians* is basic to interpretation of the significance of the three ethnic terms under consideration, "Romans," "Blachi" and "shepherds of the Romans," occurring in *Anonymous'* work.

In the last chapter of the work, dealing with "the institutions of the kingdom," the author refers to "all the rights of the kingdom (omnia jura regni sui)," which Arpad's successor and the Magyar nobles inherited from the founder of the dynasty and through him from the Hun king. Among those rights *Anonymous* meant first of all the actual

territory of the Magyar state in the 12th century, which also became Attila's kingdom by his pen. The territories comprised in the Hun "kingdom" and consequently inherited "by right" by the Arpadian kings are made very clear in the *Gesta*. In the author's view the largest part of it consisted of trans-Danubian Pannonia, the territory of the Roman province, inhabited by "Romans," "Hachi" or "shepherds of the Romans" and by "Sclavi" according to the chronicle under discussion, all of them being populations located in the region (a fact of primary importance) after the death of the Hun king. North of the Danube in the Nitra region, populated by "Sclavi" and "Bohemians," lay the Duchy of Zubur, founded there by the duke of Bohemia following a usurpation of the "historic rights" of the Hungarians after Attila's death. The territory between the Danube and the Tisa, inhabited by "Sclavi" and "Bulgars" and incorporated in the Duchy of Salanus, formed another large part of Attila's holding and was conquered after his death by Duke Kean, the predecessor of Salanus. The situation of the Principality of Memurovut in Bihor was more controversial. It was claimed by Arpad as an integral part of the kingdom of his forebear, but Memurovut considered it a legitimate legacy seized by the Hun king from his ancestors by violence. *Anonymus* did not consider the other territories, including the Duchy of Celu, constituent parts of Attila's kingdom. Consequently the seizure of the territories of the Hun kingdom and the populations settled there after Attila's death by the Magyars appeared to *Anonymus* and the Hungarian nobles, to whom his work was primarily addressed, as an act of reinstatement of the legitimate heir, who was Arpad, in his "rights." His whole interpretation was unmistakably a reply to the claims of the populations subjugated by the Arpadian kings to the territories occupied by them. Therefore if the nature of *Anonymus'* work as a document of the 12th-13th centuries and its political function are accepted, how can the introduction of the Romanians among the ancient populations of Pannonia and Transylvania be explained, if they still inhabited the Balkan empire of the Asanesti at the time or were just appearing north of the Danube? The falsehoods, intentional or otherwise, introduced by the anonymous scribe in his work as by all the representatives of medieval patriotic propaganda had a specific purpose and usually supported the cause of the "national" monarchies in whose service they wrote. A century ago Julius Jung, in reference to the alleged immigration of the Romanians north of the Danube in the 12th-13th centuries and their introduction by *Anonymus* among the ancient populations of Pannonia, rightly pointed out that "The Magyars' national pride would have been very well satisfied to legitimize their rule over the nomads so late because of this delay if that had been the case... But it was not so. The Magyars of the 13th century rationalized differently, at a time when their rule did not have to be supported by words or dissembled. The 'scribe' wrote with the intention of exalting the Magyars and he falsified the tradition for that purpose. But since he had no intention concerning the Romanians he recounted the true tradition as it was circulating in his time..., for we are not to assume that a falsifier could be stupid enough to falsify more than is necessary for his purpose." In the light of the considerations formulated above, we must accept the Austrian historian's conclusions.

Those conclusions are completely confirmed by a comparative analysis of *Anonymus'* *Gesta* and the chronicle of Simon de Keza, written about 1280-1285. The dedication of the high prelate of Bihor to the interests of the Magyar nobles and the Arpadian kings is even more evident and his social-political views are very labored. One of the fundamental features of his outlook, brought out by recent studies (Janos Szucs), is the contrast between the "pure Hun-Magyar nation (natio pura Hungarica) and the "foreign nations" incorporated in the kingdom. The rights of the "pure nation," regarded as immutable throughout its history from the primitive Scythian habitat to the author's time, to dominion over the "foreigners" in the kingdom were legitimized by the latter's refusal to respond to the order to mobilize the Hun "community," a reason derived by

the author from contacts with the French political ideology of the time. Hence the "foreigners" were condemned to perpetual servitude to the "pure nation," understood however in terms of its nobility. The chronicler of Bihor distinguished two categories of foreigners: some of recent date (Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Greeks, Czechs, Armenians, Cumans et al.) who, promoted to noble ranks, threatened the "purity" of the Hun-Hungarian nation, and others established in kingdoms since Attila's time (Slavs, Romanians, Greeks, Germans and Messians) who agreed to serve the Hun king as "ordinary subjects." One of the main objectives of this social-political theory of heterogeneous origins but adapted to the ideological requirements of the Magyar nobility at the end of the 13th century was to legitimize the rule of the Magyar crown and the "pure nation" (confused with the high Hungarian nobility) over the foreign populations within the kingdom. The distinction between "foreigners" recently arrived in the kingdom and the ancient "foreign" populations of Pannonia is very clear, seniority being a criterion in Simon de Keza's scale of social-political values. Accordingly he supplies many details as to the time of entry of "foreigners" of recent date, both individually and collectively. This is true, for example, of the "Teutons" and "Latins" who came into the kingdom two centuries before during King Peter's reign, or of the Cumans brought in by Bela IV after the Tatar invasions. But there is nothing about the Romanians, who had always figured among the ancient populations of the Danube basin. The silence is incomprehensible if we are to believe the opponents of continuity, who maintain that the second half of the 13th century, the period in which the high prelate of Bihor lived and wrote, was the high point of the Romanians' immigration into the Carpatho-Danubian area, just as it would be equally incomprehensible if the author of the illuminated chronicle and other Hungarian chroniclers of the 14th-15th century had accepted Simon de Keza's information about the antiquity of the Romanians in Pannonia and Transylvania, although they continued to assist in the colonization of the territories north of the Danube with Romanian elements from the Balkans.

But the parallel between *Anonymus* and Simon de Keza is also significant in another respect. In referring to the populations in Pannonia before the Arpadian conquest (Slavs, Bulgars, Bohemians, Germans and Greeks) the two authors merely state their presence without supplying details about their arrival in that area. This is not true of the Romanians, who attract their particular attention. For *Anonymus* they are the "shepherds of the Romans" brought into Pannonia by the "Roman princes" after Attila's death, into a territory that rightly belonged to the Hun king and his successor Arpad. Simon de Keza's version of the origin of the Romanians in the Danube basin differs. He knew that the "Blacki" occupied extensive territories in southeast Europe before the Hun conquest but that Attila's looting campaigns compelled those "shepherds and colonists" in the cities under Roman rule to flee to Italy with the exception of those in Pannonia, who remained "of their own accord (sponte)" under the Hun king in order to serve him as "ordinary subjects." The Bihorian prelate's version went into the Hungarian chronicles of the 14th-15th centuries. Despite the discrepancies between *Anonymus* and Simon de Keza in explaining the Romanians' presence in Pannonia, those "representatives of the Hungarian conscience" as they have been described could have had only one intention, namely to legitimize the Magyar rule over Pannonia and Transylvania and over the Romanian population in those territories. But there were also other motives for both authors' particular effort to explain the Romanians' presence in the Danube basin. The Romanians' position in the Arpadian kingdom as one of the largest ancient "foreign" populations in the region that still survived in the 12th-14th centuries as independent peoples under Magyar domination was undoubtedly an important reason. But there was a more important one. The explanations provided by

Bela's Anonymus and the Pihorian prelate of the Romanians' beginnings in the Danube basin suggest the existence of a tradition circulating in the 11th-14th centuries naming them the oldest population in the region, with rights of dominion over the occupied territories as descendants of the imperial people of antiquity. The anonymous Frenchman is closer to this historical tradition in his *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* written in 1308. He also knew of the rule of the Roman Empire in Pannonia, to which he related the presence of the "Blazi," once called the "shepherds of the Romans" and the "Pannonians," led by 10 "kings" before Arpad's conquest. The decline of Rome's power made the defeat of the 10 "kings" of the "shepherds of the Romans" and their expulsion from Pannonia possible. His account, based on personally collected information from Pannonia in the first years of the 14th century, does not include the Attila episode, with such an important function in the entire medieval Magyar historical literature and especially the political coloring of the narratives of Anonymus and Simon de Keza, who modified the tradition to meet the ideological needs of the Magyar kings and nobles but without betraying the essential, namely the continuity of the Romanians in the Carpatho-Danubian area. Therefore the learned interpretations of both representatives of Hungarian patriotic propaganda are to be regarded as a reply to that tradition, a reply that tries to justify in the 12th-13th centuries the political position and expansionist aspirations of the Arpadian kings in the Danube basin.

At the end of this study, let us review in conclusion the importance of Anonymus to the problem of continuity. Reversing the terms of the long, concentrated discussion of two centuries about the veracity of Anonymus' narrative about the Romanians in Pannonia and Transylvania in the 5th-10th centuries or its inconsistency, as a source for the 12-13th centuries Anonymus (fully confirmed by Simon de Keza, the anonymous Frenchman and all the Hungarian chroniclers of the 14th-15th centuries) brings certain evidence of the existence of a profound belief in Magyar society of the 11th-15th centuries that the Romanians were the ancient inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian area. The contemporaries of Anonymus and Simon de Keza, to whom their chronicles were addressed, were convinced that at the time of the conquest Arpad and his comrades at arms had to face Romanians and their voivodes (the "dukes" of Bela's Anonymus and the "kings" of the anonymous Frenchman) in the Danube basin just as they encountered Slavs, Germans and Bulgars with their political leaders. Accordingly the theory of the Romanians' emigration from the Balkans to the north of the Danube in the 12th-14th centuries receives the fullest confirmation from Anonymus and the entire Magyar historical-political literature of the Middle Ages.

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IMPRESSIONS FROM VISIT TO AMERICA

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 3, 10 Jul 81

[Article by Gencho Uzunov, deputy chief editor of STURSHEL]

[3 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] It may be taken as an excuse, but the writer of these travel notes states that America, this big and complex country, deserves to have a book written about it. The reader who reads, hears or looks at news, articles, motion pictures or pamphlets on this so-called "new world" daily, and who hears all sorts of half-baked stories about it should be given a more complete picture.

A one-month visit is not something to be discounted, particularly when such a month includes events such as the end of the Carter administration, the new year, the taking over by the Reagan administration, the record number of murders and the worst winter ever recalled by Americans. Given all of this, not saying anything would be quite suspicious.

That is why we undertake to share our impressions, however scant they may be.

A rather strange feeling develops in the course of an 8-hour trip over the ocean in this huge, fat but good and obedient Jumbo Jet. One has barely gotten over the premonition that this monster will be unable to go up when the flight attendants begin to explain in sign language how to put on the oxygen mask, the parachute and the safety belt before jumping into the ocean from an altitude of 10,000 meters. One is then fed and even given a drink and shown motion pictures.... A little bit of time is left to shop aboard the plane, to listen to music and even to think. It is precisely during this time that one unwittingly thinks of the old, tired Europe and about what one is to see, which in one's imagination is approximately the following: skyscrapers, neon advertising of banks or Coca Cola, crowded, noisy stores and places of entertainment full of suspicious types, discotheques with deafening music, dizzying fashions, youthful exuberance, hippies, Chevrolets, Cadillacs and police cars chasing each other and from time to time letting loose machine gun fire and mysterious prairies on which roam pistol-packing outlaws and cowboys. At this point, one begins to wonder about where all these respectable people in the plane are going, and why has one left good old Europe to be flying to this crazy and wild west. One feels awkward thinking that one could be asked the same question. At that point, one settles down and, soon afterwards, the gentle voice of the flight attendant announces the imminent landing. Rather excited, one

tightens one's safety belt and puts out one's cigarette precisely when one really wants a smoke, and peers from the window to see things from above, to gain an initial impression of America. All that one sees at first is water. Then one sees land with rather disreputable little one-story houses, then water again and miles of skyscrapers and, finally, a most ordinary airport. Finally, one is in New York, the heart of the "new world."

It would take a great deal of gall to say that the city is not impressive. One may like it or not, and it may not meet preconceived ideas but, in any case, it is striking. It is a combination of ocean, rivers, rocky islands and peninsulas and a beautiful intertwining of bridges, tunnels, overhead passes, tall and low buildings, innumerable small and big stores bursting with goods, parks, gardens, boulevards and streets crowded with multicolored people in a hurry, white, black, yellow, brown, Creoles, speaking in all possible languages (including English). And all of this is spread over a huge area, either dug in the ground or sticking out into the clouds, decorated by billions of lights, advertising, companies and neon lights which blink, turn, jump, run, crawl, hitting not only your eyes but your brains, your heart if you will...and your pocketbook, regardless of whether it is full or empty. After all of this which strikes and makes one dizzy comes a feeling of calm or, rather, fatigue. One is surprised (pleasantly or unpleasantly) and excited. One's body, eyes, ears, nose and legs have given up but one's spirit is on the alert. One neither feels like resting nor thinking. One is in America. One changes one's socks and shoes, looks out of the hotel window to see what the weather is like, puts on suitable clothing, takes the map of the city and puts in one's vest pocket \$20 for whoever will spring in front of you and will give you the command "money!" and one jumps into this stormy sea. And, if one gets one's wits about one and if one's eyes can still see normally, one sees the following:

In Manhattan, equal in size to several Sofias, are--virtually all skyscrapers-- the headquarters of corporations, hotels, big general stores, supermarkets, houses of the rich, offices of smaller fish, and all kinds of big and small stores, all kinds of eating, drinking and entertainment places, parks, theaters, shows, movies, museums, and even a circus. Surrounding this jagged but nevertheless beautiful colossus made of skyscrapers are little gardens, cathedrals, all kinds of churches, diplomatic missions, the United Nations, the piers, the big garages and gasoline stations and warehouses. Scattered throughout Manhattan and most distinct are the famous Wall Street, the splendid Rockefeller Center, the Empire State Building, previously the highest building in the world, 102 stories high, today's highest buildings--the World Trade Center (The Twins), the Lincoln Center with the splendid buildings of the Metropolitan Opera, the Philharmonic and the National Theater... and the famous black district, Harlem. Far into the distance on Hudson Bay, in front of Manhattan, is the now pitifully small Statue of Liberty. It looks small but once reached by ferry, one still has to take the elevator for the first six stories to reach the skirt, after which one begins to climb the narrow steps for yet another 10 stories to reach the head, from which one can see almost all of New York. In order to see even better and develop an even stronger sensation, one goes on climbing another even more twisted ladder and crawls along the raised arm, ending at the famous torch where, together with 40 other people, one can have a cup of coffee, admire the view, buy a souvenir, take pictures and rub one's legs, for, as we know, going down is even harder. It is hard to believe that this little doll, a gift from the French, staring at the ocean, is the same one one saw from the dizzying height of the Twin Towers, where one also finds stores, coffee shops and restaurants which can accommodate hundreds of visitors.

The other parts of New York are the boroughs of Brooklyn, New Jersey [sic], the Bronx, Richmond.... These are all islands or peninsulas next to Manhattan with tunnels and bridges, with twisting green alleys, boulevards, streets, huge general stores and supermarkets, small pleasant stores, establishments, garages, beautiful or ugly cheek-by-jowl houses of people of different nationalities, who have failed in the business world, the likes of which one can find all over America.

A great deal more could be said about one's initial impressions, for the country is big and varied. Here, however, we shall describe briefly the essential features, for these are only hastily written travel notes. We shall continue our story with only some of the most interesting and random information we acquired during the first days of our stay:

In this country, when the Senate is in session, the senators cannot speak for more than 10 minutes. Members of the House of Representatives can speak 2 minutes only. Otherwise, anyone can speak as much as he wants and wherever he wants, and say anything he likes. Anyone who has been laid off is paid the modest amount of \$900 monthly for a period ranging between 6 and 9 months. If in the meantime he refuses a job the aid is terminated. "Welfare" is the famous social assistance fund. Many honorable people in trouble survive poorly and degradingly, in terms of that country, with its help. New York has a population of 12 million people. Every day, 2 million cars, trucks and buses come into or leave the city. It takes the Division of Motor Vehicles 25 seconds to find out all they need concerning a driver or a car. A college education costs between \$18,000 and \$50,000. Usually, this money is borrowed and repaid after graduation. In New York alone, in one year (last year) 1,700 people were murdered with firearms; 175 were murdered in Washington. There are 30,000 homeless men in New York. They may be found stretched out on the sidewalks, in front of the skyscrapers, in front of the luxury stores and establishments, along benches in gardens and parks, in front of social aid institutions, in police precincts, or along the emergency staircases of hotel buildings. Those lying over the grids of heating boilers are known either mockingly or enviously as the aristocrats.

Suddenly one has the feeling that the otherwise hospitable, hurrying and temperamental people who live here feel quite crowded. The apocalyptic masses of this city, the millions of cars, the mad pace, the unseemly subway, the endless wailing of police and fire engines and ambulances, superhigh buildings and the seemingly narrow streets can hardly stand the pace, they are short of breath like people with a weak heart, barely able to withstand the stress. Infinite wealth and blinding glitter yet people sleeping on sidewalks! Technical miracles coexisting with primitivism! Esthetic peaks and laughable kitsch!

Strange things against the background of such a powerful economy!

[10 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] To satisfy the reader's curiosity, let us inform him that the areas we visited were New York, Washington and Toronto. The first two have several states each. The data reported here were either gathered firsthand or obtained from officials and official documents. They have been carefully checked and are accurate. In the opposite case the din which newspapers, periodicals, the radio and television would make would be deafening.

Police cars or fire trucks and ambulances wail night and day in New York and Washington. These are quite frequently cases of arson. Landlords burn their buildings down to expel their tenants or collect on fire insurance and invest the money in their businesses. New York and Washington account for 60 percent of crime in America. Crimes against teachers (committed by students or parents) are increasing alarmingly. Almost all television channels quite frequently show photographs or drawings of criminal sought by the police. Almost any evening a television channel will show a feature movie dealing with rape, extortion, theft or murder.

Some 75 percent of Washington's population is black. We looked at the newspapers after the new year. Along with articles, reports, interviews and photographs about the preparations for Reagan's inauguration and about the American hostages in Iran we find the following: a bloody week in New York: in 8 hours four people were killed and two wounded. In Washington, between midnight 3:30 am on New Year's Day three people were murdered in the center of the city. A 69-year-old Roman Catholic priest was wounded and robbed. From his hospital bed he asked for forgiveness for the robbers. A Christmas tree salesman was murdered. A police officer was murdered by someone who was asked to put his cigarette out. A man was knifed in front of a subway station. In the center of New York an elderly lady returning home in the evening finds a passenger car blocking her entrance. She looks for the owner, who shows up shortly afterwards and begins to unlock the car door. The elderly lady angrily asks him why he is blocking her entrance. He explains to her politely that there was no other parking space and that there was no sign forbidding parking! ... The lady, however, pulls a handgun out of her purse and shoots him, saying "you won't be parking in front of my house next time!"

A murderer has been cornered on the Brooklyn Bridge in New York. Realizing his hopeless situation, he gets on the parapet. The police beg him to come down and promise to be lenient, but he jumps from the dizzying height into the cold waters of the East River.

And...along with the television news programs, the rich and varied advertising and constant humor, one may frequently hear a competent and concerned discussion with a psychoanalyst who may spend hours talking about crime. People in New York and Washington and the other big cities in America come home (in their cars) toward 7-8 pm and no longer dare to come out. The streets are empty. Here and there an occasional car passes by. The sidewalks are dead. Gardens and parks stand empty. Theaters, movies, shows and places of public entertainment show signs of life until about 10 pm, after which everything is dead. All that remain are the deserted and silent litter, the outside beauty, the noise of firearms and the sinister ambulances. How greatly mistaken all some of our young people who have an entirely different idea of the way of life here! They would be horribly disappointed by it. Very few are those who spend their nights in bars, discotheques or gambling establishments without thinking of the future, without any concern for fatigue, examinations, plans, productivity, or discipline. It may come as a surprise to some that it is the custom here for young people (high school or university students and others) to work when out of school, either for their parents or for someone else.

With all of this, there are many areas in the United States where people cannot remember having had anything stolen from them, having had a quarrel with someone, having forgotten or lost something which has not been found or returned, or who keep their cars unlocked and their windows open.

As one may see, America is a country of many stories and each story contains both the minimum and the maximum of everything. Generally speaking, the people either somehow manage to survive or live decently. They live in the midst of abundance, regardless of whether or not anyone could equally benefit from it. The opportunities of the individual vary and depend largely on himself. All that is required is capability and refusal to sympathize with these horrible Eastern systems or to be a suspected sympathizer. Anything else goes. If you want, go to school. If you want, open a store, a confectionary shop, a bar, a brothel, a restaurant, or a grocery store.... If you want, take up a trade, become a fireman, a policeman, a barber, a merchant, a soldier of fortune, a priest, a factory owner, a farmer, a driver, a banker, a thief or a sailor...anything you want. You have the freedom to choose and it all depends on you, on your qualities. However, if you have not assessed things properly, if you have made an error, if you have overestimated yourself, if you have not taken into consideration the circumstances, God help you! The mechanism is merciless. It is interested only in what you can do, what is needed, what is in demand, what is highly productive and profitable. We must admit that there is a rational element to this, an educational element, if you wish. The bad thing is, however, that here the birth and development of a rather unpleasant distortion of aspirations is quite tangible. This has been noted by a number of honest and intelligent Americans. According to Seymour Lipset, Harvard sociologist, who has tried to identify some of the basic reasons for distorted phenomena in this otherwise high-standard society, they are rooted in the mentality of many people whose slogan is "what matters is who is the winner, and not how." This leads to the American "national nightmare," as a DAILY NEWS editorial recently stated with some concern: "Violence is our way of life." "Murdering and crippling are spreading like the plague." According to statistics, in the past 20 years some 250,000 people have been killed in America. This does not include cases of wounding, theft or blackmail, which have become a daily occurrence and are almost ignored. The entire world knows that one out of four presidents has been the victim of an armed assault. The house of a friend of ours was robbed three times and the thieves came with a truck. That is why nearly every house has an alarm system concealed among hundreds of expensive and beautiful things.

The environment is splendid! The huge and comfortable residential districts have little gardens, swimming pools, splendid supermarkets and places of entertainment.... Trade and services are remarkably good. Everywhere one is welcomed and sent off pleasantly, politely.... The people are warm, communicative and helpful. But...if you happen to bend down to retrieve something someone has dropped he would be startled. If for any reason your eyes show despair, anger or malice, people will look elsewhere. Any sudden movement will make people jump. Because of the mania for absolute freedom, which is preached here, one never knows who is armed with what and what a person may decide to do. This writer ran for quite a distance to catch up with a lady and give her back a glove she had dropped. The passersby fearfully gave way while the lady in question was gradually moving faster and may have set a record for the hundred meter dash.

And...shortly before we arrived in New York, a 25-year-old man from Hawaii, Mark David Chapman, shot John Lennon in front of his home near Central Park, merely because of the latter's refusal to give him his autograph! And shortly after we came back, John Hinckley, the young neofascist, fired at the new president, Reagan. Generally speaking, what a strange variety!

All of these strange facts should not frighten the ordinary tourist, or someone assigned to or visiting that country. For some strange reason he is virtually safe, providing that he is somewhat more cautious and more quick-witted, behaves somewhat more calmly and modestly, comes home earlier and does not walk alone. He must also be familiar with the rules of that society. In that case, he will be able to see many other no less interesting and strange things which are equally noteworthy and which we shall share with our readers in our next notes.

[The series was not continued in subsequent issues.]

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WORKERS, INTELLECTUALS DECREASING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Ferenc Kovacs, Scientific Dept hd of the Social Science Institute of the CC of the MSZMP: "The Workers And The Intelligentsia"]

[Text] The most recent congresses of our party, using the results of sociological studies, have dealt with the new phenomena of our society's structural change, including the relationship between workers and cooperative farmers. They formulated the narrowing of the gap between the classes as a social goal. Social research also paid relatively less attention to the relationship among the workers, white-collar workers and the intelligentsia and to the narrowing gap between them. However, the number of white-collar workers almost doubled in the last 20 years, reaching almost 1.5 million (about 420,000 of them with advanced degrees). Thus, this stratum became the second largest, next to the worker class. It is becoming, then, ever more important for social management and the public to see the merging and internal differentiation of the classes and strata (and the related problems and tasks) correctly and subtly.

In Hungary, as in other socialist countries, antagonistic social segmentation has come to an end. Society is, however, segmented: it is characterized by cooperation between social strata and groups of significantly different (but not antagonistic) positions and goals. In this situation, the intelligentsia has an outstanding role, with increased responsibilities. Most of the intelligentsia are descendants of workers and peasants. Its activity and tasks made it an ally of the social classes, and its work has become quite organized and planned. All of this greatly affects not only its own attitude and sense of responsibility but also the workers' thinking. It is mainly the work of the intelligentsia that causes the general cultural level of the entire society to rise, the movements of mental work in industry, agriculture and in the everyday activity of workers in the service areas to multiply, and the significance and standard of professional training among them to increase. Some workers' strata, especially that of the skilled workers, gradually approach the characteristics of the intelligentsia's way of life. Thus, the social "distance" between the intelligentsia and the workers is significantly decreasing; the intelligentsia is getting closer and closer to the workers.

The question is, How much is this gap closing? We must be very careful in finding an answer to this question, considering that the differences within both the worker class and the intelligentsia are often greater (depending on the kinds of jobs,

training, the size of the family, urban or rural residence, etc., of the persons surveyed) than the differences between an "average" worker and an "average" member of the intelligentsia. Thus, the research on the concrete differences deserves special attention. It includes the international comparative study done in 1979 in social scientific cooperation of the socialist countries' academies of sciences on the relationship between workers, employees and intellectuals. (In the study, we interviewed a representative 2,150 workers and intellectuals from 13 enterprises, representing 10 industrial branches.)

The first interesting discovery was that, as far as financial circumstances are concerned, there is hardly any difference in Hungary between skilled workers and employees, while the financial circumstances are greatly different between skilled and unskilled workers on the one hand and between intellectuals and employees on the other. As far as the income and the size of the family are concerned, the differences between the four social strata are smaller than the differences in living conditions and household equipment. Intellectuals have a definite advantage in the comfort and equipment of their homes.

According to answers about working conditions, both workers and intellectuals are almost unanimous in their demand that their job be "comfortable" and allow independence at the same time. They thought that higher wages are more important than advancement at one's job and emphasized the importance of cooperation at the job. According to the majority, cooperation is very important in all social groups, although its extent is rather limited in reality. Speaking of democracy at the work place, many thought that it was important that their immediate superiors consider their proposals--but frequently found that this did not happen.

In summary, then, there were no significant deviations in the four social groups surveyed regarding the job and workplace, aside from the fact, of course, that the working conditions and the working hours of the intellectuals are better and, as a result of their training and position, they are better informed and have more say in enterprise matters than workers.

We have also examined thoroughly similarities between the physical and mental workers' use of free time and cultural activity. The average annual vacation is roughly the same in all social groups; i.e., 19 days. They spent 14 days for relaxation, and this also shows that many people, including the intellectuals, spend part of their vacation at work. This is evidently connected to the fact that many intellectuals also need extra income or "do-it-yourself" work that means a saving of expenses. On the other hand, the difference between the four groups in relation to vacationing abroad is significant. (Most of those who vacationed abroad were female intellectuals; unskilled male workers were most likely to stay home.)

It is not surprising that there were characteristic differences in each group in the forms and frequency of participation in culture. One extreme is comprised of those who depend entirely on television for entertainment and learning and the other, those who regularly read and go to the theater and concerts. Although the two extremes can be found in all social groups, the various forms of entertainment and learning are closely connected to the level of education, age, and type of residence. Activity involving pure entertainment is most frequent among unskilled workers.

An extensive analysis of social mobility was an important part of the survey. There is a quite extensive mobility between the generations and the children's professional advancement in comparison with their fathers': two-thirds of the intellectuals and half of the skilled workers are first-generation professionals in their own social group. This type of change in social position is also characteristic of employees: more than two-thirds of them are from worker and peasant families. On the other hand, two-thirds of the unskilled workers retained their fathers' status. More than half of the intellectuals, one-third of the skilled workers, and 30 percent of even the employees began their independent life at a lower-than-present level of education or profession. These facts show, among other things, that continued education plays a very important role in social advancement.

Family relations also indicate the closing gap between social classes. In Hungary, many marriages unite people from different social groups; e.g., three-fourths of the intellectual males surveyed chose a wife from another social group; one-third of the unskilled workers married skilled workers or employed women; and 71 percent of the unskilled female workers married skilled workers. In today's Hungarian society the various strata are not separated from one another by great social distances.

The survey summarized here corroborates the well-known statement that the social differences between workers and intellectuals have significantly decreased and that even the character of the differences has changed in the course of socialist change. While the overwhelming majority of intellectuals was serving the exploiting ruling classes before liberation (and some were exploiters themselves) and the life style and living conditions of the workers and intellectuals were quite different, the socialist revolution has put a radical end to this difference and created a new intelligentsia originating mainly from workers and peasants.

On the other hand, with regard to the remaining tasks, the closing gap between the social strata cannot be identified (as some people do) as an equity between the intellectuals' and the workers' incomes. For the intellectuals' higher income is justified by their higher education, more responsibility in management, and work that demands continued learning. Instead of the equity game, it would be important to have a stricter differentiation of income based on actual output in the case of both physical work and mental activity. This does not contradict the fact that the dividing line between the workers and the intelligentsia will gradually disappear; this is indicated by the mass emergence of skilled workers with a high school diploma. The differences between the average positions of workers and intellectuals, unskilled workers and highly trained intellectuals will probably continue to exist. The closing of the gap must not (may not), then, entail the elimination of all differences; only those "unjust" differences that hinder the cooperation and efficient work of workers and intellectuals, should be eliminated.

9414
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PROBLEMS OF PROPAGANDA WORK ANALYZED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 9, Sep 81 pp 43-48

[Article by Jozsef Poor, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Deliberately, Realistically, With Political Sensitivity; Concerning a Few Problems of Our Propaganda Work"]

[Text] An article titled "Increasing Social Awareness in Propaganda Work" (PARTELET, No 6, 1981) calls the attention of propagandists to several important factors. Our propaganda work has the important task of an ever broader development of social awareness. We must carry out this activity in a differentiated way, taking into consideration of the frequently divergent political-ideological characteristics of all the strata of our society. This requires varied methods and an independent recognition and evaluation of the concrete situation.

The successful execution of propaganda work today places very high and many-sided requirements before our propagandists. There can be no doubt that an ever increasing number are becoming suitable for the performance of this difficult, but beautiful, task. We must see clearly, however, that we should not present our propagandists with demands which cannot yet be realized today. Still--taking into consideration the realistic possibilities--we must face several problems, even in ourselves. I will touch on these problems in my article.

Of the internal problems certainly the most essential is that one can still sometimes find among our propagandists various theoretical pictures in connection with socialism. This indicates that today even they sometimes interpret the theory of Marxism concerning socialism in various, sometimes contradictory, ways. We are not thinking here of the multiplicity of paths or forms but rather of a confusing and misleading multiplicity of the essential signs of the socialist developmental phase.

In this connection we must make mention of two extreme types of misrepresentation which appear. One is to develop an impermissibly idealized theoretical picture of socialism and not see the differences of socialism, its distance from communism. A socialism conception of this type encourages looking at our social reality one-sidedly, from the side of problems. In the work of a propagandist this leads to intolerance, urging administrative methods, etc. This, however, injures the effectiveness and credibility of propaganda work and hinders the unfolding and development of socially deliberate activity.

The other extreme type of the confused picture of socialism is for the propagandist to exaggerate the distance between socialism and communism, ignoring the fact that we are talking about two developmental phases of the same economic-social formation. Starting from this point of view the propagandist easily falls into the error of becoming involved in ideological-world view compromises and similarly--only with a different sign--evaluating our social relationships one-sidedly.

On the basis of the peculiarities of our historical development there is a real danger of both traps, and they can be found here and there also. This cautions us that we can do effective propaganda work which aids the development of social awareness only if we study Marxism-Leninism profoundly, trying to understand ever more deeply the content of its theory of society, including the dialectic of the development of socialism. In this regard the propagandist can never be sufficiently prepared, can never be satisfied with the level of knowledge already achieved. In addition to the contemporary literature available (notes, textbooks, specialized books) it is absolutely necessary to engage in careful, independent study of the original sources of Marxism, the works of the classics also.

Now, to concretize the problem: A uniform interpretation of our socialist social reality is essential. I would like to call attention to only a few questions, but they are a fundamental significance. One is the multiplicity of the path of our homeland and of the other socialist countries. Sometimes our propagandists do not see clearly that some socialist countries must frequently overcome problems different from ours, do not see how much energy this takes, what efforts it requires. Not least of all we must think here of the multi-national socialist countries. At other times we find the absence of a realistic judgment of the differences being realized in economic policy. All these factors can make an evaluation of our domestic conditions one-sided also, and can even lead to a distortion of socialist patriotism.

One of the important conditions for the authenticity of propaganda work is that it should not become a justification of every decision of every organ. The propagandist must orient himself independently in his treatment of the contradictions of our socialist society and come to an evaluation. In addition to the already mentioned theoretical knowledge, important aid in this is provided by the resolutions and guiding principles of the central organs of the MSZMP and by the theoretical professional literature dealing with a scientific analysis of our social relationships. All this, however, only provides a foundation and cannot take the place of the propagandist's independent inquiry, the necessity of developing his own value judgments.

Without analyzing this problem in detail here we must note that some of the contradictions of our contemporary society are based on objective sources, and some are based on subjective sources. Frequently these two sources are intertwined. Basically the resolution of the contradictions which have come into being on objective foundations can be realized by means of the development or transformation of our objective social relationships. The subjective factors, as supplementary elements, have a significant role within this. It is obvious that in our propaganda work we would be coming into a contradiction with our social reality itself if we tried to resolve these with the tools of propaganda alone. Despite this, one can find such examples. But we must distinguish these contradictions from the contradictions which have come into being as a result of subjective factors, or at least in part as a result of subjective factors. In the case of these latter contradictions it is not only possible but absolutely necessary to make active use of the tools of propaganda work in the interest of their resolution.

Here also the propagandist can find himself faced with two situations. In the one case he must explain to some community the necessary nature of some measure, the social or broader community interests which justify it, even if they contradict individual interests or the interests of a narrower community. In the other case however—if something is erroneous or incorrect, in the case of a decision which did not reckon with the political consequences—we cannot expect our propagandists to justify or support the reality of these decisions. In such a case the fundamental task of the propagandists is to indicate, within party-like frameworks, the necessity of changing the erroneous decisions. The party organizations should increasingly support themselves on the information acquired by the party propagandists from the broader circles of the populace, on the knowledge of our social reality which can be compiled therefrom.

Thus the propagandist carries out a many-sided activity and has a fundamental role in propaganda work. But it is a bad interpretation of propaganda work to think that the role of the propagandist is active only in that. The propagandist is doing his work well if he not only teaches and educates in the course of propaganda work but also himself studies and develops. An important condition for this is that in the course of his work he have an active link with those smaller or larger communities among whom he does his work. Intelligent propaganda work is always a dialogue. Naturally this must be interpreted in a differentiated way. This is a bit strongly—it can lead to the desired result, including an increase in social awareness, only if the propagandist does not consider himself to be the sole depository or "revealer" of the truth but rather pays attention to problems and includes the communities in the search for various ways to approach and solve them. This today, is an indispensable tool of verbal propaganda work.

In a certain sense the propagandist must dissolve himself in that community in which he does educational work; the community must feel that the propagandist himself is learning and developing under the influence of the community, that he needs the independent problem recognition and problem solving work of the community and uses it in the course of his own work. We cannot permit our political-ideological enemies to take the initiative in the recognition of our problems. We must face them and cast light on them sincerely and ensure the conditions for a way out of them, but not under "pressure" from the opposition. Only in this way can we pull the rug out from under the occasional appearance and strengthening of the political-ideological opposition.

All this, however, does not mean and cannot mean that in the course of our propaganda work we must go on the ideological defensive against ideological influences hostile to us. Such a situation can really develop sometimes in some areas of our ideological-cultural life. But the situation is different in regard to our populace as a whole. It is my experience that at present there are not significant strata of our populace which consciously adopt any ideological teachings hostile to Marxism-Leninism. In the long run, as a basic tendency, one can see a strengthening of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism; it is this which characterizes the development of the awareness relationships of our society.

We obviously have the important task of openly criticizing those phenomena characterized by a deliberate representation of ideologies hostile to our own, pointing out their negative social effects. A fear of such criticism makes precarious the possibility of defending the truth of our ideals and our real achievements, and thus is very dangerous. So our basic task in the area of propaganda work is a positive

expression of our ideals. We must guarantee the possibility that more and more in our homeland can learn the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and not just part of fragments thereof. Marxism must be mastered and applied as a complete ideological system, deliberately adopted in the course of practical activity. This must be accompanied in propaganda work by the practical realization of the "two-front struggle," frequently within ourselves as well. But we should have no illusions that social awareness will be realized on an all-social scale within a short time, and this includes an exclusive monopoly situation for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism as an organic part thereof. For a long time still there will necessarily be a renewal of attitudinal and behavioral forms alien to Marxism; we can conduct a successful struggle to limit them and reduce their influence--but not to finally liquidate them.

A realistic awareness of our social relationships, and in this connection of the ideological sphere of our society, is indispensably necessary for a successful, well founded conduct of our propaganda work. The absence of this can cause much confusion and misunderstanding today. I would like to mention one concrete example of this which is among the most important areas of our ideological propaganda and our entire ideological public life. I am talking about religion, about the strata of believers in our populace, in the epoch of building a developed socialism. It is my experience that the two most significant ideological trends in our homeland today are Marxism and Christianity. There can be no doubt that in addition to these there sometimes appear and occasionally strengthen within a narrow sphere certain anarchistic ideals and behavioral forms which draw greater attention, not so much because of their social basis as because of their loudness or as a result of their tone. Our propaganda work has the important task of dealing with this phenomenon also. It is not possible, nor is there any need, to list all the political, moral and generally ideological phenomena alien to Marxism. Regular attention can be given to designating the tasks pertaining to discovering and overcoming these. Religion, primarily Christianity, is one of the most significant non-Marxist social organisms in our homeland which has independent organizations and institutions and which exercises an effect on a significant part of our populace parallel to Marxism-Leninism and other socialist elements of our super-structure. In general our ordered links and cooperation with the churches, are developing in the direction of the interests of the people and nation, in the direction of building a developed socialism.

But, according to my experience, the realization of our cooperation and world view-ideological dialogue with the churches and the believing strata of our society do not always meet with an unambiguous interpretation. There are those who regard the cooperation of the Marxist atheists and the believers in political-economic and certain cultural areas as an ideological-world view compromise and they fear for the ideological purity of the party because of it. They pretend to discover in it a sort of "liberalization" or "right wing deviation." On the other hand we also meet with phenomena which would extend cooperation and understanding to world view questions in the course of seeking ways to cooperate with believing people and the churches. Indeed, when they discover those world view areas and problems in which there cannot be agreement between believers' and Marxists they suspect some sort of "dogmatism."

In the first mentioned conception a role is played by the fact that for a long time the judgment of religion in use was quite one-sided and emphasized only the negative. We have very much to do among our propagandists in the area of making this picture more flexible, better shaded and more realistic. To a certain extent the practice of our church policy has gotten ahead of the development of theoretical-literary activity and propaganda.

A correct view of the question is especially important today when the leadership of the churches is doing much in the interest of developing a balanced link between the churches and the believers on the one hand and the socialist state on the other, seeing to it that the faith of the believers should not be used for the purposes of political activity against socialism. In our Marxist propaganda work we cannot ignore those positive tendencies which have come into being in a number of our large and small churches--at different times and sometimes in a contradictory way--and which are progressing in their own way. We must pay close attention to these developmental tendencies and we must draw the appropriate conclusions from the viewpoint of our propaganda work as a whole.

The positive political turn taking place in the teachings and practice of the churches is manifested in the fact that political opposition to our system and to Marxism-Leninism is being forced increasingly to the periphery within the churches and what is coming to the fore increasingly is a responsible theological treatment of those questions which express the common interests of our entire people--believers, non-believers and Marxists alike. The leadership of the churches also is seeking possibilities for cooperation between Marxists and believers; those world view questions which separate us from one another are formulated but they are not placed in the foreground. This helps to resolve the believers' conflicts of conscience--one can be a believer without being an enemy or opponent of socialism and the Marxist social-political movement. Let me emphasize that this positive political turn in our churches is taking place at different times and to different depths.

Under such circumstances--and we have stressed only one or two tendencies of the changes here--there is much which must be considered and changed in the course of our propaganda work. We must consider that religion, as a very complex compound whole, does have a world view content but in addition it has many other substantive motifs which can contain a positive treatment of social progress; it is not necessarily the world view content which comes to the fore here. In addition to the world view opposition it can come closer to the theory of Marxism in a number of ideological and political solutions. We are not talking about a mutual rapprochement in this case! This has unique consequences in our relationships. We must see our real or potential political allies in those with whom we are linked by basic interests and the cooperation being realized on the basis of our common interests offers a good opportunity for a world view-ideological dialogue also.

I believe that it would be useful to change our terminology in this dialogue also. Our churches are waging less and less of a world view struggle against us; some churches do not do so at all. Protestant theology, for example, calls itself the theology of dialogue and rejects so-called "apologetics," in plain language the teaching of defending the faith. We must adapt to this ourselves, naturally without modifying or abandoning our principles. It seems more useful to conduct a dialogue with the believers and not wage a world view "struggle" against them. Naturally, here also we are faced with a unique form of the class struggle in the scientific-philosophical sense; this is one area of the world view class struggle. But a differentiated treatment could aid the common realization of our goals and increasing emphasis could be given to those motifs which link us, forcing into the background elements which separate us.

A more detailed analysis of this sphere of questions is not possible here. We mention it only as an example to illustrate how a precise estimation of changing tendencies in our ideological public life is an organic part of our social self-awareness, and in the absence of this our propaganda work will certainly remain without effect. We cannot avoid pointing out, however, that in our age the development of Marxism-Leninism is accompanied by a manifold differentiation of the ever richer content of this scientific ideology, by the relative separation of its older and new branches. Its complex growth can hardly be realized today. This hides several dangers from the viewpoint of propaganda work. Perhaps the greatest danger is that the confrontation and comparison of theory and practice is sometimes neglected. But Engels has pointed out, using an old proverb ("the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof"), that the test of every theory is practice and in the final analysis (but not in an absolute sense) only practice can justify theory. Naturally, we would be doing ill to try to submit theory to the criticism of some vulgar practice. The further danger in the differentiation of Marxism is that some elements of it might be torn away from the others, taken out of the system of theoretical interdependencies, and thus lead us to impermissible conclusions. We cannot ignore the fact that today no one propagandist can be a universal cultivator of Marxism, he cannot even know it all. But all of us must follow the chief tendencies of its development.

In my article I have tried to call attention to a few problems and tasks which make necessary the constant self-training of our propagandists, the unending renewal of their theoretical and methodological arsenal. As a result of our economic problems and the increasingly complex international situation our tasks have become more complicated and more difficult. Subjective factors in themselves cannot change these facts; indeed, it could cause additional serious harm if we ignored their objectivity. Our propaganda must give a valid and persuasive answer to these problems and must mobilize the subjective factors, the awareness of people, the motifs of will, feeling and emotion, to solve the tasks ripe for solution. This process, however, must necessarily be linked to a series of concrete measures which will create favorable opportunities for the realization of the mobilizing effect of our propaganda work. So there is a need for propaganda work, and there is a need for the harmonization of state, party and social measures. Without this harmonization propaganda will necessarily remain without effect. So propaganda cannot be a separate sector of party work; it can carry out its tasks only as an organic part thereof.

Perhaps this sounds like an empty phrase, we say it so often. But in reality it is a requirement which is realized today only as a tendency. It is absolutely necessary to deal with it in our present situation if we want to make our propaganda really more effective. Those factors which cause our most important problems today do not, considering their essence, derive from the deficiencies of propaganda work so it would be a mistake to make propaganda work responsible for them. But they are having a negative effect on the mood, world view and public feeling of a part of our populace, and thus have a negative effect on our ideological relationships. The dialectic of things, however, does not make it possible to overcome or force into the background our basic problems with the tools of theoretical-ideological education alone. Only a change in our objective social relationships will take the ground out from under these negative ideological phenomena. In this process, naturally, the task and responsibility of propaganda work appears as an unavoidably necessary part-motif, as a supplementary task. A correct interpretation of propaganda demands from our propagandists tasks which are realistic and which can be solved within party work as a whole.

PARTY WORK IN TRADE UNION AFFAIRS TERMED SUCCESSFUL

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Summary] The role of the party in assisting trade union work was the subject of a recent meeting of the party executive committee of the managing directorate of MAV [Hungarian State Railways]. The meeting concluded that acknowledgement and taking into account of the fact that the trade union is "an independent organization in which party policy is asserted through the communists who work there [in the union] is an important basic principle of trade union activity."

Having the secretary of the trade union committee regularly attend sessions of the party committee at which trade union matters are discussed is one proven way of implementing this policy. This holds true all along the line: the secretary of the party committee of the managing directorate attends meetings of the central leadership and presidium of the trade union of railway workers. The political-ideological work of the party is no abstract activity here either, because it is a strong factor in seemingly minor, routine matters.

The recent trade union elections provided a good opportunity for assessing and enhancing this strength. As a result of the increased rights and broader mandate of the trade unions, trade union stewards and chief stewards became subject to more stringent requirements. Two lines had to be combatted in the course of the elections: one line called for detailed aid from party organs down to the most minute detail; the other found even the fact that the list of steward nominees was submitted for debate at party membership meetings to be excessive. In such cases honest, patient convincing political reasoning, the open and frank statement of the communists' views were necessary.

All this bore fruit in the fact that the ranks of stewards now number more outstanding workers esteemed by their colleagues than in the past. Today everyone realizes that communists working in the trade unions play a major role in improving the work of the trade union committee of the main department of railways. They take an effective stand on issues involving protection of interests, on reconciling group and individual interests. They unequivocally support the economic leaders in asserting the principle of distribution according to performance, but can also say no when necessary. The meeting concluded that communists working in the MAV trade union were successfully fulfilling their dual role: representation of interest and mobilization.

CSO: 2500/19

ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ASSOCIATIONS VIEWED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 9, Sep 81 pp 27-31

[Edited material from the 4 August 1981 session of the Political Committee: "Concerning the Work and Tasks of the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations"]

[Text] The Political Committee discussed a report concerning the work of the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations and adopted proposals for the communists on how they might aid more effectively with their activity preparation for the 13th general meeting to be held in October and the work of the associations and of the federation.

At present 32 member associations, 19 megye organizations and 30 city organizations work in the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations (MTESZ); in practice it embraces the areas of the technical and natural sciences cultivated in our homeland. In the past 4 years the membership of the associations has increased by 22,000 and the total exceeds 170,000.

The Political Committee spoke with recognition of the work of the technical, natural science and agricultural intelligentsia and of their successful activity performed in the interest of realizing our technical-economic goals. The associations and the federation have carried out their tasks and their work--especially since the 12th congress--has become more purposeful, better planned and more practical, and is better linked to the economic tasks which are more important from the economic viewpoint. In a few areas, however, progress was slower than would have been possible.

The resolution of the 12th congress designated an acceleration of technical progress as one of the fundamental conditions for the realization of our social-economic goals, in the interest of increasing the efficiency of production and transforming its structure. This requires a more effective utilization of the domestic and foreign achievements of scientific research and technical development and increased support for innovative initiatives. The economic tasks to be solved in the coming period pose higher demands for the technical, natural science and agricultural intelligentsia. All this makes necessary the more organized participation of the intelligentsia in economic construction work. In the realization of this a significant task devolves on the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations and on the member

associations. The federation can meet these social demands if at its general meeting and in its practical work alike it puts in the foreground the technical-social tasks deriving from the resolution of the 12th congress and from the goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and of science, public culture and educational policy. It is necessary for the federation to continue its successful activities in those areas where the work of the associations already has traditions, to apply the developed methods and forms of work with a content corresponding to the new requirements.

The federation undertakes a significant role in providing professional information, in developing public opinion and in espousing new initiatives. It contributes to the enrichment of the professional-political training of its members and to the unfolding of their social activity. In its work it makes good use of the possibilities for holding professional lectures, debates and conferences, for organizing exhibits and study courses and for editing journals and publications. It increases the attractiveness of the work done in the associations that in addition to satisfying the scientific-professional interest of the membership they provide an opportunity for public life activity. This makes it possible for them to actively participate in the preparation and realization of important central and enterprise decision.

The federation and the associations are carrying out successfully the task of providing technical and economic information, propagating the achievements of scientific research, new technical information and the application thereof. As a supplement to state education and in coordination with branch guidance organs they are aiding educational and public culture activity. They contribute with their proposals to the further development of upper and middle level professional training.

The associations publish 75 technical and scientific journals. The professional journals provide useful scientific and technical information but the quality of them does not yet correspond in every respect to the requirements; sometimes one can experience substantive overlap.

It is a social interest that in the future also the associations and the federation should contribute to preparing the technical intelligentsia for the increased tasks, to increasing their professional knowledge, to improving their fund of information and to forming their views. Increasing the practicality of the work of the associations requires that the economic thinking of the technical intelligentsia and the technical information and view of the economic intelligentsia be strengthened. In harmony with its tasks and adjusted to state education the federation should develop its system of instruction and further training, raise the level of the professional journals and apply more effective methods to the providing of information. Eliminating duplication also requires that the review of publications take place in coordination with state organs. The federation should promote language knowledge among experts and aid the development of forms and methods for language teaching.

The experts gathered together in the associations are linked in many ways to the tasks of the people's economy, they aid the development of our society with their many-sided activity. The intellectual resources available which can be utilized with the tools of social work should be concentrated on the solution of such tasks as, for example, energy management, electronic parts manufacture, the industrial background for the foodstuffs economy, the development of the pharmaceutical industry and problems of innovation.

In the interest of improving the effectiveness of the utilization of the intellectual resources it continues to be necessary to concentrate our attention on the solution of the most important economic tasks. Taking into consideration the nature and possibilities of the federation and the associations they should select, from among the developmental goals of greatest interest from the economic viewpoint, those the realization of which they are primarily capable of aiding with the unique tools of their work.

It is a new aspect in the work of the federation that in addition to aiding the solution of the more significant economic tasks--for example, rationalizing energy management--by announcing competitions they also attend to and organize the realization of the proposals developed in this way. In the course of its activity the federation makes good use of the opportunity of mobilizing experts for the solution of a task, from research to utilization or marketing.

The swifter and broader practical application of research and development achievements also makes necessary close cooperation between research and development organizations and producing enterprises. The forums of the federation should aid the creation of a unity of view among those participating in the innovation process. In the interest of this they should organize and guide the cooperation of experts, laying the foundations for this by a more deliberate organization of inter-association activity. In this work the federation and the associations should also cooperate with the interested state organs, including the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

At the request of the party and state guidance organs the federation has aided, with its opinion and proposals, the work of preparing decisions in such questions, among others, as the congress guiding principles, the further development of the research institution network, possibilities for exploitation of our raw materials, a draft central development program for electronics, the conception for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and preliminary thought for long-range planning work. Every association discussed the conditions for switching to a 5-day work week. The inclusion of the federation and its associations in the work of preparing state decisions also causes problems in that sometimes this is still formal--primarily because the time available for debate is short and thus the giving of opinions cannot be sufficiently well organized or broad enough. The proposals should take into consideration the realistic possibilities for realization. It is also justified that the federation and the associations should receive information about the use made of their proposals.

In the future, in the solution of economic, scientific and educational tasks and in the preparation and implementation of decisions, the guiding organs should support themselves more consistently and in a better planned way on the opinion giving and proposal making work of the federation and the associations, especially in long-range planning and when preparing central development programs. In harmony with this the federation should aid the working out of decisions via the clash and integration of association opinions and with proposals which weigh the possibilities of implementation; and the federation should participate in the realization of them. In practice the inclusion or linking of the MTESZ, as a social organization, in important social and economic actions or events is still not satisfactory. This will require that the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations, in a manner similar to other social organs, should be linked to the work of state and social organs and receive the necessary information about decisions, resolutions and documents affecting its work in harmony with its tasks.

In the past period the federation organized the work of regional and factory organizations effectively. The regional organizations have become significant factors in the public life of the megyes and are aiding in a broad way the economic work taking place there. Adjusting to the solution of concrete regional problems a number of studies have been prepared, organized by the federation, concerning industrial development, agricultural, community development, transportation and water management questions. Their programs--such as the technical weeks held annually--are often forums for the discussion of national themes also. There have been initiatives for regional cooperation also. This helped the associations to put the guidance of some professional themes in those megyes where the intellectual background offered opportunities for it.

In the past 4 years the number of factory organizations increased from 600 to about 1,000. The content of the technical, economic, organizational and educational work directed at the solution of local enterprise or factory tasks improved in these. It is still sometimes a deficiency of the work of the factory organizations that they do not turn sufficient care to an espousal of ideas and proposals coming from the workers, to aiding the processing of them and to aiding the utilization and propagation of innovations and inventions.

Progress in the work of the factory organizations is slower in Budapest; in the past period factory organizations have been formed here only in a few large enterprises. Thus, in a number of areas, the possibilities hiding in an organized professional-social contribution to the solution of local developmental tasks are still unexploited. In the past year, however, the federation created the Budapest Executive Committee which has the tasks of cooperation with the capital guiding organs, forming factory organizations, and aiding and coordinating their work.

The development of factory activity should continue to be in the center of association work. Problem-solving thinking, initiative and action must be given greater scope via the work of factory and enterprise organizations. These organizations should deal especially with questions of internal enterprise accounting and interest also. They should help to improve the efficiency of production, should help the working out and realization of innovations and inventions serving conservation and should help the activity of the working collectives and socialist brigades aimed at this.

The associations should strive consistently to bring in young experts, even in their university years. A few associations seek out and support talented youth even in the secondary schools. Professional guidance of the enterprise Council of Young Technicians and Economists and support for the university science student clubs is successful in a number of areas, in cooperation with the KISZ organizations. In cooperation with the KISZ organizations the federation should step up its work involving the problems of young experts starting their careers and in helping them adjust to the place of work.

The international contacts of the federation strengthened in the past period. The cooperation which has developed with socialist countries has become more substantive and has been adapted to the bilateral and multilateral scientific and technical agreements among the CEMA countries. New contacts have been established with organizations of a number of capitalist and developing countries. The associations and the federation participate effectively in the work of international scientific organizations. In the future they should strive to make better use of the information and experience acquired in the course of international contacts. Gaining

international recognition for domestic achievements is an important task also; in this work the federation should cooperate more closely with the Chamber of Commerce. The federation and the associations should contribute to laying a better technical foundation for the development of cooperation with the CEMA countries. They should expand contacts with those developing countries in which broad interest attaches to the development of technical, commercial cooperation.

In general the contacts of the federation with the social organizations are good. Working contacts between the federation and the National Council of Trade Unions are based on a cooperation agreement. In the majority of the branch trade unions and associations the common work has good traditions, especially in the solution of educational tasks and in surveying the situation of technicians. Cooperation between the regional organizations and the megye trade union councils has developed also thanks to the organization of joint actions.

There continues to be a need to develop contacts with the social organizations, the trade unions and the KISZ organizations, especially in the interest of improving cooperation within the enterprises and factories.

While increasing the independence of the associations the guidance work of the federation and the leading bodies has become more determined and better planned; their substantive integrating activity has been realized more consistently in recent years. Carrying out the changed and increased tasks has been accompanied by a qualitative change in part of the federation and association apparatus, and this strengthened the professional-political erudition. All this had a favorable effect on the work methods and style of work of the associations and of the federation.

In the future the federation should ensure appropriate independence for the associations and decentralized, democratic guidance of social work; at the same time it should ensure effective coordination. Its guidance work should be strengthened in the area of international contacts, providing information and organizing programs and in improving the efficiency of management. The internal organization of the federation should be reviewed in harmony with the tasks, the development of technical-scientific life and the perfection of the economic guidance system and closer working contact among the associations should be encouraged.

Since September 1980 the associations and regional organizations have been holding their general meetings to re-elect officers or have been holding their delegate conferences. These conferences have been characterized by a realistic judgment of the state of the people's economy and by activity which understands the economic and technical development tasks and supports their solution. At the same time a number of observations have been made concerning the situation and problems of experts.

The associations and the federation--using the tools of social activity--should assist in seeing that the material and moral recognition of the technical, natural science and agricultural intelligentsia increase in harmony with the accomplishments, thus increasing the attractiveness of technical careers.

With their activity the communists working in the associations and in the federation have contributed significantly to the effectiveness of the work done there. The federation should continue to support itself on the initiatives and activity of

the communists. Hereafter, also the regional party organs, the state guidance organs and the economic leaders should offer their support to an ever better performance of the tasks of the federation and the associations. The successful activity carried out in the technical and natural science associations should receive the recognition due to social work.

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PROSECUTOR GENERAL DISCUSSES BACKGROUND, DUTIES

Warsaw GRANICA in Polish No 8, 2 Aug 81 pp 4,5

[Interview with Brig Gen Lucjan Czubinski, Polish prosecutor general, at his office, by Henryk Piecuch, entitled "The Law Must Be the Law"; date not given]

[Text] For 32 years, Poland's prosecutor general, Brig Gen and Asst Prof Lucjan Czubinski has worn a soldier's uniform. For almost as many years, he has been connected with the Frontier Guard. We paid the general a visit.

It was a free Saturday and probably the only day that the prosecutor general could make a little time for a meeting with a reporter. His office in the Cracow suburb is rather modest, as is the man who works there. The general values punctuality, precision of speech, concreteness and objectivity. He says that the army taught him that. Although he works in the civilian sector, he has never stopped being a soldier. We sat down and began the interview. After 3 hours, the insistent telephone reminded us that, despite the day off, the prosecutor general is one of the busiest people in Poland.

[Question] How long is the prosecutor general's day, and how many such days are there in the week?

[Answer] It is as long as necessary, about a dozen hours, 7 days a week.

[Question] What does the family say to this?

[Answer] My wife and two sons fully accept my activities and help as much as they can, since they understand my obligations well. I am proud of them.

[Question] Let's return to the past: Jelenia Gora, officers' school, law school. A young man from Lodz Voivodship, who dreamed of becoming a teacher and then a soldier, found himself there.

[Answer] I realized these dreams. I became a soldier. I was at Jelenia Gora from 1949-1951. I finished school and ended up at the prosecutor's office in the Lodz garrison.

[Question] That's how it started. What happened next?

[Answer] Next came different positions, different levels, different responsibilities. I was the assistant prosecutor at the training camp. At the age of 23, I was the Mechanized Division prosecutor under an excellent commander, General Siwicki. In 1955 I became deputy prosecutor of the Silesian Military District. It was an enormous district, and among my responsibilities was the supervision of proceedings in the whole area. That is when I got to know the frontier guardsmen better.

[Question] Unfortunately, this acquaintance was not always pleasant, was it?

[Answer] It was nothing of the sort. I met many wonderful people with whom I am still in touch.

[Question] At the same time, Comrade General, you were developing your public activities.

[Answer] Yes. In 1962 I even became the state secretary for KP SOW [Silesian Military District County Committee] propaganda affairs. Two years later I was offered the position of head of the Silesian Military District Political Administration and I was there until 1967.

[Question] One day you were called in to see your superiors. They said that you were to return to the prosecutor's office. These positions followed: Polish Army Chief Prosecutor's Office, prosecutor for the Warsaw District and in August, 1968 chief prosecutor for the Polish Army. Two years later came promotion to brigadier general. How old were you then?

[Answer] I was forty.

[Question] What came next?

[Answer] I didn't limit myself to my own backyard, but added to my activities in the civil sector. In March 1972 I was named to the position of Polish prosecutor general. I did not want to leave the army. The minister of national defense agreed that I could be delegated but would remain on active duty. I was promised that I would return to army work in 2 or 3 years.

[Question] Nine years have passed?

[Answer] Yes. I asked my superiors when I would be able to return. They answered, When the time comes.

[Question] Will it come?

[Answer] I believe that it will. I am waiting for it. It will come when there is reason, order and peace in the country, when the law is the law and fairness is fairness. That is what I am fighting for. That is what I devote all my strength to.

The general became lost in thought for a while, as if he had forgotten my presence. I reminded him that in addition to his military biography, there exists another--the academic. There was extramural study of law during the difficult period of the 50's, when those who wanted to study were not viewed with much enthusiasm. There

were the master's and doctoral degrees, qualification as assistant professor and many articles in professional journals. The general confirmed these. He also said he felt very bad when inexperienced people, putting on airs, harangued academics from their positions. He stuck to his work and attained his objective. He intends to teach in the Polish Military Academy. After all, he has trained over 20 masters and one Ph.D, and conducts an 11-person doctoral seminar. I had the impression that the general's teaching and academic work give him great pleasure and satisfaction.

[Question] In our situation, on what does the role of the prosecutor's office and the prosecutor depend?

[Answer] Obviously, the role of the prosecutor's office in a socialist government is different from that in a capitalist government. The prosecutor is not primarily an accuser but is first of all the guardian of law and order in its broadest sense. There is no sector in which the prosecutor would not have to be active. Prosecution is just one of the many less pleasant though necessary obligations. The basic responsibility is the supervision of law enforcement by government and social organs, as well as the enormous civil law department. It also involves labor relations and family and guardianship matters.

[Question] What do you think about prevention? Some say that it is better to prevent than prosecute.

[Answer] I am among those who constantly repeat this. In this area, the prosecutor's office has become the coordinator of government preventive action, since carrying out preventive work is the most effective method of law enforcement.

[Question] I've heard that the prosecutor's office is not complaining about a lack of work. How large is the staff?

[Answer] We've never complained about too much time. We are literally snowed under an enormous number of cases. Just the cases in the preparatory stage amount to over 500,000 annually. There are only 300 prosecutors, plus apprentices and administration. As you can see, that's not many, especially since our activities are nationwide.

[Question] There are also women. Is that good or bad?

[Answer] Yes, there are. That's good, since there are cases, particularly in the civil law sector--though not only there--that require a feminine approach. It's also bad, since a woman is always a woman and has her woman's rights and specific family obligations. Nevertheless, we are happy that they are in our ranks.

[Question] Whom do you serve?

[Answer] We serve the government, the party, society. In this respect, the prosecutor cannot live apart from society; he must be active in it.

[Question] Comrade Prosecutor, were you not a member of the congressional commission before the Eighth Congress? Don't you feel responsible for what happened?

For the second time during our conversation, the general stopped for a while. He got up, went to his desk (which was covered with all sorts of documents), rummaged in one of the drawers and then put a typewritten paper before me. I read: "General comments concerning the 'Guidelines' as a whole"--8 points; "Comments on chapter 5"--20 points. Each of them was properly supported and documented, stating what is bad, what should be changed, what should be done, what is wrong. The comments touched on many matters--agriculture, economics, politics, foreign affairs. They were very critical in places. Some touched on matters strongly proposed after August 1980. I looked expectantly at the general.

[Question] What happened then?

[Answer] I waited to see what would come of it. Almost nothing happened, with the exception of several remarks that no one shouldn't write like that. What do I mean? Today it is being claimed that no one said anything about these matters. We spoke about them. But the result was not what we expected.

[Question] What happened along official lines?

[Answer] I can say that the prosecutor's office was giving about a hundred different items annually to the central system. Those who accuse us of ineffectiveness are simply suffering from lack of discernment. We put forward concrete, documented analysis and information in which we pointed out what was bad.

[Question] What were the results?

[Answer] No effective action was taken or at best some superficial gestures were made. It must be remembered that, to this day, even the prosecutor general cannot raise an objection to a minister's decisions, to a decree that the minister issues, even a decree that violates the law. I can submit comments or propose changes. I have done so. The answers varied.

[Question] Were you left only to stand idly by?

[Answer] No. Among other things, we brought about a resolution of the People's State Council concerning cooperation between the prosecutor's office, the People's Council and administrative organs. It is a very significant resolution and a serious problem. The People's Council became responsible for checking on the effectiveness of prosecutorial performance.

[Question] Are you looking for work?

[Answer] It might look that way. But the good of society is what is involved.

[Question] From what you say, Comrade General, it emerges unequivocally that the office of the prosecutor does not involve only orders, injunctions, indictments and summonses. But meanwhile, even the mass media don't speak too well of you.

[Answer] That is because they are not telling the truth. We are resentful and sad about that, and I believe with good reason. After all, we always made, and are making, available material about what we have done and what we are doing, as well as

about how we work. What happens? There aren't too many voices speaking the truth about our work. Some reporters arrive at something interesting on their own, some inaccuracy. That is fine; that's their profession. But they immediately accuse the prosecutor's office of being ineffective. First of all, the prosecutor's office is not the only organ responsible for fighting wrongs. Second, if only the reporter would come to us and ask whether we are aware of a given fact and if so, why do we not take action. Or ask what is our attitude toward the said fact. If it is wrong, let them criticize us. But they should not accuse us without clarifying the matter with us. Proper principles of cooperation and honesty demand that. Furthermore, one cannot make accusations and pass sentence on one's own, outside of the prosecution and judicial organs, give unchecked facts, accuse people before confirming their guilt, simply mix into the province of the court and replace it. But how many examples of that we have! Some Solidarity activists are aiming at that. Various advertisements, leaflets and libels in the press are often aimed at decent people. What has that to do with law and order, for which they are ostensibly fighting? As long as I am the prosecutor, I will do everything to ensure that no one is sentenced against the law. The law must be the law.

[Question] What about the reckoning?

[Answer] It is being and will be continued. Nevertheless, I should not obscure the fact that is is, after all, history. It would be good to deal first of all with the present, to talk about what is current and what awaits us.

[Question] Let's talk about those who want to weaken the law. Why is it that they started being more widely discussed after August? Didn't they exist before? Wasn't it known that there were such people? As far as I know, this matter was never the subject of a Central Committee meeting.

[Answer] That's true. Nevertheless, we always had enemies. But we wanted to be the only nation in the world without political prisoners. Those were the leaders' ambitions. Where did it lead? No effective action was taken against antigovernment activity, although officials called people to account for actions determined to be transgressions or misdemeanors against public order.

[Question] Was there a legal basis for criminal prosecution of some people who were carrying on antisocialist activities?

[Answer] There was. Primarily from the KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] and the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland]. The prosecutor's office believed and believes, that that is very dangerous activity. Unfortunately, today, too, certain actions indicate that threats are being made light of in this sphere. For instance, contrary to our opinion, the court overturned a preventive action--temporary arrest--against the leaders of the KPN.

[Question] The prosecutor's office is accused of not seeking sanctions against those, for example, who built themselves houses, especially if they were somehow connected with the so-called ruling circles.

[Answer] We cannot let things come to a point where the prosecutor's office institutes action just because someone has a house or because he held a government or party position, if he didn't commit a crime. There is only one law. It doesn't matter whom it affects, whether ordinary people, party or nonparty decisionmakers or opposition activists who would like to remain immune in the name of some imagined higher causes.

[Question] What are you doing, then, to fulfill your tasks properly?

[Answer] We are trying to make broad contact with society, precisely in the interests of that society. We want honest people to see us as guardians of their interests and not as a repressive organ. Thus, for the past few years there has been a directive in the prosecutor's office obligating prosecutors to have broad contact with people and to do a tour of duty in various-level administrative offices, in large workplaces and the like. Long before August a complaint division was established in the prosecutor general's office--a real one, not imaginary. We have a docket of matters that are agitating public opinion. Among other things, we are following the work of television and radio and are explaining every signal. We are carrying out tens of thousands of preventive conversations.

[Question] But in spite of everything, you're locking up people.

[Answer] Yes, but only when we have very well-substantiated facts concerning a crime and that for the good of the investigation such a drastic measure is necessary. This happens only in extreme cases.

[Question] I have heard that you receive many denunciatory letters.

[Answer] Yes, we do receive them, although there are fewer and fewer of them. On the other hand, there are more requests for help than before. We help to the extent of our abilities.

[Question] Are these abilities great?

[Answer] That depends on what the requests concern, but our policy is not to take any of them lightly.

The general stopped for a third time and then asked me to put away my pen so that he could tell me a little story. It actually does not belong in a serious article but does show that prosecutors must sometimes also deal with seemingly marginal matters. Thus, once in Rzeszow, in front of the voivodship prosecutor's office he met an old woman who was warmly thanking a prosecutor for something. The latter, upon seeing the general, tried to minimize the matter. When pressed by the chief, he confessed that the woman, who lived in the country dozens of kilometers from Rzeszow, received a summons from the voivodship office to appear the next day in order to explain some matters. She arrived a day early. The official, who was a formalist, threw her out, telling her to come on the day specified in the summons. Pleas and explanations were to no avail; the official was unbending. No wonder that the woman lost her desire to speak with anyone from that office and came to complain to the prosecutor. He called the official with the request that the petitioner be

taken care of. The official was tough and refused. Fortunately, he had bosses who showed more understanding for an old woman and the prosecutor's office and took care of the old woman's affair on the spot. That's what the thank you's were about.

[Question] Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that only angels work in the prosecutor's office. After all, in spite of everything, people aren't crazy about you.

[Answer] We don't want to be loved, just understood, especially by the honest part of society, for whose good we are working. When society is fully informed about our activities, it will understand whom we serve and whose interests we protect. Unfortunately, for the moment, those who are interested in attacking us are very often heard. They manipulate the people skillfully, twisting facts. They use gossip, slander, and innuendo. They come out against law and order, bandying about demagogic slogans, pretending that they are right.

[Question] Does that mean that you've done everything that you could?

[Answer] We've done a lot, but surely we could have done more. In some cases we were not sufficiently demanding. In all areas there remains much to be improved and done.

[Question] Don't you ever make mistakes?

[Answer] We're human, we have the right to make mistakes like everyone else and we do make them. Naturally, we are doing a lot to eliminate them and if they are already made, we quickly and effectively correct them.

[Question] A great deal is being said lately about the threat to public order.

[Answer] It is an indisputable fact that there is a serious increase in crime, especially robbery, breaking into apartments and public buildings, appropriation of personal (often hard-earned) goods, robbery with assault. Various social, political and economic conditions are the cause. Among other things, internal and external enemies have become active. It must be understood finally that no organs can resist this by themselves, without society's help. Anyway, that's in society's interest.

[Question] In that case, can we yield, and how much?

[Answer] In my opinion, we cannot.

[Question] They why are we yielding? Why is the country flooded with illegal publications, which surely do nothing to calm the mood--on the contrary, they set people against each other.

[Answer] Nevertheless, something is changing. It especially started changing after the 11th Plenary Meeting. We are not surrendering? As for illegal publications, that is not exclusively an affair for the police or the prosecutor's office. These matters should be settled first of all by political means. Trade unions should be trade unions, not organizations that pass verdicts and announce them in various illegal publications. The courts are there to pass verdicts.

[Question] Our interview is not too cheerful, is it?

[Answer] Unfortunately, that is reality, which is not conducive to cheer.

[Question] Let's change the subject again, for a moment. Years ago, how was your nomination as prosecutor general viewed here?

[Answer] That's a difficult question. It is seen differently today, because the premier is a general too; thus, a uniform on the central level is somehow a guarantee of reliability and effectiveness of action. Nine years ago it was different. I had worries. Fortunately, they turned out to be groundless. I became acclimatized fairly fast. After a while, I saw that people accepted with satisfaction the fact that a general was working with them. After all, neither my name nor rank was important, only what I did.

[Question] Was some of your military experience carried over to the civilian area?

[Answer] Naturally. All the good examples of military activity were. There are many.

[Question] How shall we end this interview?

[Answer] I will say that I am glad that I was able to be your delegate to the congress. I always had good relations with the Frontier Guards. We are, after all, united by our common work of maintaining order and safety, our common concern for strengthening law and order. I know frontier guardsmen and those who wear generals' ribbons and those who day and night guard our borders high in the mountains and on the sea, on the Odra and Nysa and in the Bieszczadas [?]. I know how difficult this service is and am full of esteem for their excellent fulfillment of it.

9461

CSO: 2600/321

HISTORY, FACILITIES OF AIR FORCE REVIEWED

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 34, 23 Aug 81 pp 4, 5

[Article by Czeslaw Krzeminski: "The Air Force: Its Institutions, Schools and Centers"]

[Text] The air force is one of the newest and basic branches of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic. Its missions are to conduct various combat activities directly on the field of battle in collaboration with other military branches and independently in an enemy's rear area by air attacks on ground, water and underwater targets; to engage an enemy's air force in the air and on airfields; to destroy an enemy's nuclear attack weapons; to protect friendly combat and operating groups against enemy air attacks; to conduct air reconnaissance at the tactical and operational levels; and to perform various support tasks.

The air force of the Polish People's Armed Forces was founded during World War II on Soviet territory. It took part in combat operations in the most important strategic sectors (in the Vistula-Oder, Pomerania and Berlin operations) and became the foundation for expanding the Polish People's Air Force. During the second half of 1945 and first quarter of 1946, the air force was reorganized to operate on a peacetime basis. Air units were equipped with jet aircraft during the 1950-1952 period.

Today the main attack force is the operating air force, which appropriately consists of fighter forces, fighter-attack forces, fighter-bombing forces, reconnaissance and transport units and support units (medical, communications, command aircraft and helicopters and the like). The air force also includes construction, airfield defense and service, communications, radio engineering and chemical units and services similar to those in the other armed services. It also includes units standard for an air force such as navigation, parachute and meteorological units. Air force armaments are being continually modernized. Most pilots possess first-class professional qualifications. The air force represents one-third of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic.

The Air Force Command, headquartered in Poznan, plays a key role in guiding the entire air force.

The Air Force Command

The Air Force Command is the Central command organ of the Polish Air Force. It was created 31 October 1944 in accordance with Regulation No 015/467 on the basis of the reformed Sixth Soviet Air Force. Initially it was known as the WP [Polish Armed Forces] Air Force Command and was headquartered in Zamosc. After Warsaw was liberated, the headquarters was moved to Pruszkow. The commander of the WP Air Force was Div Gen Teodor Polynin. Initially the command's entire effort was concentrated mainly on organizational matters. Beginning 18 April 1945 the WP Air Force Command began to command Polish Air Force units in the Berlin operation from a forward command post at the field of battle. On 13 March 1946 the name of this command was changed to the Air Force Command. Brig Gen Aleksander Romeyko was the commander of the air force in 1947.

When the National Antiaircraft Defense Force became part of the air force on 25 November 1954, the Air Force and National Antiaircraft Defense Command was created (with Service Branch Gen Jan Turkiel as commander). On 14 April 1962 the Air Force Inspectorate was created (with Division Gen Pilot Jan Frey-Bielecki as inspector) with a limited range of prerogatives. Based on the Operating Air Force Command, the Air Force Command was reactivated on 20 February 1968 and headquartered in Poznan. Since that time the air force commanders have been (in order) Division Gen Pilot Jan Raczkowski, Division Gen Pilot Henryk Michalowski and, presently, Division Gen Pilot Tadeusz Krepinski.

The Jan Krasicki Higher Officers' Air School in Deblin

The Jan Krasicki Higher Officers' Air School (called the School of Eagles) is the oldest military aviation school in Poland. Its traditions date to 1925 when the Officers' Air School was established in Grudziadz. In 1927 it was transferred to Deblin. In 1974 the Military School for Pilots was created and transferred to Deblin. Shortly thereafter the school became the OSL [Air Force Officers' School].

A fundamental reorganization of the training system at the OSL occurred during the 1956-1959 period with the introduction of jet plane armaments. Up to 1967 the school's main task was to train in 3 year's time officer-pilots and navigators at the officers' professional school level.

In January 1968 the OSL became a higher military school. Thw WOSL [Higher Air Force Officers' School] provides 4 years of training for engineer-commanding officers in the following military aviation specialties: engineer-fighter pilot, engineer-helicopter pilot, engineer-transport pilot, transport engineer, engineer-navigator for air ships and engineer-navigator for command posts. In addition it provides training for air force political officers (humanities studies). Helicopter pilots, transport aircraft pilots, air ship navigators, navigators for land-based command posts and meteorologists are trained at the WOSL's School for Air Force Warrant Officers. In addition the WOSL conducts officer courses for various specialties and ranks (WKDO [expansion unknown], KDO [expansion unknown], KPO [expansion unknown] and SOR [expansion unknown], as well as correspondence courses in engineering and annual noncommissioned officer courses. Meteorologists (specialists) are trained at the WOSL School for Air Force Meterological Service Specialists.

The WOSL Aviation Secondary School has been in operation since 1972; it provides secondary school courses for students. The Evening Aviation Technical School, which operates in conjunction with the Aviation Secondary School, was created in 1974.

The WOSL also provides 3-year basic trade school programs for career soldiers in the following specialties: vehicle driver, vehicle mechanic, and radio and TV technician.

As a result of over 60 postwar promotions, the Deblin aviation school has turned out several thousand graduates for the Polish Air Force. In recognition of this service, the school was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, class 2, in 1955 and the Grunwald Cross, class 3, in 1979.

The Michal Wojtowicz Air Force Technical School in Zamosc

The M. Wojtowicz TSWL [Air Force Technical School] trains lower- and middle-level technical personnel for the Polish Air Force.

The TSWL was founded in the fall of 1944. As a result of Order No 91 of the WP High Command, issued 31 October 1944, the WP Central Aviation School was established in Zamosc. Candidates for training as pilots and mechanics were selected from among the soldiers of the Ninth Reserve Infantry Regiment stationed at Majdanek (near Lublin). The first group of candidates--about 750 in number--arrived in Zamosc in mid-December 1944, when the organization of the school was initiated. On 21 December 1944, the name of the school was changed to the United WP Aviation School, and at the same time it was divided into two battalions: first, pilots, navigators and deck gunners and, second, mechanics of all specialties.

Schooling was inaugurated on 2 January 1945, and on 9 January 1945 Brig Gen Pilot Jozef Smaga assumed command of the school. In March 1945 the school's first battalion was regrouped and replaced by an air squadron (part of a combat training regiment).

In accordance with Order No 68/1 of the WP High Command, dated 3 April 1945, the school was reorganized once more as two separate schools: the Military School for Pilots, headquartered in Deblin, and the Military Technical Aviation School, which remained in Zamosc. The first class graduated on 18 May 1945. During the last 10 days of August 1945 the school was moved from Zamosc to Warsaw (Bemono), where it remained until 1950, when it was returned to Zamosc.

In January 1951 the school entered a new stage of development and at the same time received its current name, the TSWL. In mid-August 1955 the school was reorganized into two schools: the Gen W. Wroblewski Technical Air Force Officers' School, with headquarters in Olesnica, and the TSWL in Zamosc. One of its first graduates, Maj Franciszek Ilnicki, became TSWL's commander. Initially aircraft mechanics received 9 months of training. They were fighter plane mechanics, training plane mechanics and transport plane mechanics. With the passage of the law concerning the 2-year service period for the air force in 1957, the training period for aircraft mechanics was reduced to 5 months.

The training of young technical personnel as professional mechanics at the Non-commissioned Officers' School was initiated in 1964. In the 1965 academic year, TSWL's Nalazek Family of Elblag Noncommissioned Officers' Trade School started specializing in aviation technology. Training of the first career volunteer soldiers began in the fall of 1965.

The training of mechanics at TSWL's Noncommissioned Officers' Trade School was initiated in 1973. By the end of 1979, the TSWL was training technical personnel in 32 specialties. For its great contributions in strengthening the defense of the country, the school was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, class 2.

The Gen Walery Wroblewski Central Institute for Training Technical Specialists for the Air Force in Olesnica [COSSTWL]

This aviation school trains young people and middle-level technical personnel for the aviation requirements of all branches of the Polish Armed Forces.

COSSWL's traditions date to 1944 when the WP High Command created the WP Military Air School in Zamosc. After subsequent changes in location and various modifications, the school was renamed the TSWL in 1950 and began training jet aircraft mechanics.

In mid-September 1955, the school was organized into two separate schools: the Gen W. Wroblewski Air Force Officers' Technical School [TOSWL], headquartered in Olesnica, and the TSWL in Zamosc. At the end of 1969 and beginning of 1970, the TOSWL was transformed into the COSSTWL. At the institute's Air Force Noncommissioned Officers' Technical Trade School noncommissioned officers are trained in the following aviation-technical specialties: the building and operation of aircraft, aircraft armaments, aviation equipment and on-deck radio equipment. COSSTWL's Warrant Officers' School offers 2- and 3-year courses for aviation technicians in the following specialties: the building and operation of aircraft, aircraft armaments, aviation equipment and aircraft radio engineering equipment. In addition it provides training for reserve warrant officers. COSSTWL was awarded the Order of the Standard of Labor, class 2.

The Training and Conditioning Center for Flight Personnel in Zakopane

This center was created in 1957 as a training and conditioning base for pilots of the Polish Armed Forces. Initially, the base was known as the Conditioning Center.

The purpose of a 3-week session at the Training and Conditioning Center for Flight Personnel is to maximize the phychophysical condition of flight personnel and to extend the time that they will be able to fly.

The Air Force Institute of Technology in Warsaw [ITWL]

This institute is a ministerial scientific research institution concerned with problems related to aviation and airfield technology. The ITWL was established on the basis of the 17 June 1953 order of the minister of national defense and was known as the Air Force Scientific Research Institute. On 1 August 1958 its name was changed to the ITWL.

All airplane and helicopter operating parts and subsystems are research subjects for the ITWL. The institute does scientific research in areas that determine the functional effectiveness of the air forces of the Polish Armed Forces. Safety of flights is the number one concern. Of vital significance is the work being performed in the realm of aircraft combat readiness systems, research in laboratories and under real operating conditions for functional characteristics, the reliability and durability of aircraft equipment and airfield surfaces, optimization of operating procedures and the building of special centers for aviation and flight training. The institute conducts operating research on all military aircraft. The ITWL is also working on the construction and use of airfields, introducing new methods for determining geomorphologic soils from the air with the aid of black-and-white, color and infrared aerial photography.

The institute's work is publicized in professional periodicals and its own publication INFORMATOR ITWL. By year-end 1978 the ITWL had received over 100 patents verified and issued by the Polish Patent Office. For its scientific work it has won 20 awards and commendations from the Ministry of National Defense and 24 awards and commendations from other ministries, awards related primarily to science and technology. It also has won awards in NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and ZYCIE WARSZAWY competitions.

The Military Institute of Aviation Medicine in Warsaw

The WIML [Military Institute of Aviation Medicine] is a scientific research institution that conducts studies and research in aviation medicine. It also is involved in certification, clinical activities and the training of medical personnel for aviation medicine needs.

The institute dates to 1928, when, on order from the Ministry for Military Affairs, the Center for Aviation Medicine was established; this was transformed on 1 August 1936 into the Institute for Aviation Medicine Research. Created in March 1945, the Mobile Health-Epidemiologic Laboratory (associated with the WP Air Force Command), which a couple of months later was transformed into the Laboratory for Aviation Physiology and Hygiene, can be considered the embryo of the present WIML. On 1 June 1946 an air hospital was added to the laboratory, and a larger institution called the Laboratory Center for Aviation Medicine was formed. On 1 May 1947 this institution was transformed into the Central Institute for Aviation Medicine Research with headquarters in Warsaw. On 14 January 1955 its name was changed to the Military Institute for Scientific Research and Experimental Aviation Medicine.

In accordance with the 21 May 1958 order of the Ministry of National Defense the institute was reorganized and was renamed the WIML. The following centers were created within the institute: Experimental Aviation Pathophysiology, Clinical Pathophysiology, the Main Military Commission on Aviation Medicine, and the Construction-Engineering Department. The WIML Scientific Council began its operations in 1959.

WIML's increasing participation in developing some areas of Polish science in the 1970's was very significant, especially in clinical medicine, industrial medicine, sports medicine and space medicine. The WIML played a big part in making preparations for the first Polish cosmonaut, who was selected on the basis of a scientific

cally developed elimination system. This system was highly praised by the USSR Aviation Medicine Commission and held up as an example for other socialist countries.

In collaboration with PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], since 1967 the institute has been participating in the resolution of many scientific problems of the Interkosmos Program. Its research results are presented regularly at world congresses on aviation and space medicine as well as at astronautical congresses. The WIML publishes its own scientific publication called MEDYCZNA LOTNICZA. For their scientific achievements during the 1970-1978 period, WIML's medical specialists were awarded the National Award, class 2; 12 awards from the minister of national defense; an award from the minister of machine engineering industry; an award from the minister of science, higher education and technology; and an honorary degree from the International Aviation Federation. On the 50th anniversary of its founding (1978), the WIML was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, class 2, by the National Council. Col Prof dr Hab Stanislaw Baranski is the WIML commander.

The Garrison Military Aviation Hospital

The GWSL [Garrison Military Aviation Hospital] in Deblin was established in June 1957 on the basis of the existing Officers' Aviation School Garrison Infirmary. This hospital provided medical care for OSL cadets and flight personnel. The GWSL also includes the Military Aviation Medicine Commission, which assumed the institute's certification functions regarding cadets and aviation cadidates and then candidates for the Warrant Officers' School and the Aviation Secondary School. In the 1970's the GWSL also conducted planned, periodic examinations of aviation technical personnel.

PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU

This monthly has been in publication since 1947 (until 1950 bimonthly) by the Air Force Command. Until 1974 the periodical was called WORSKOWY PRZEGLAD LOTNICZY and was dedicated to problems concerning the air of air force operating tactics, aviation radio engineering, aviation meteorology, new aviation equipment, the operation and repair of equipment, airfield equipment and stories concerning the air forces of fraternal socialist countries. During the 1950's and 1960's the size, format and cover of the monthly changed, improving its quality significantly. This was due mainly to the many years of effort of its chief editor, Col Navigator Jozef Kopacz.

Since 1974, the monthly has been published by the Air Force and National Antiaircraft Defense Command and is called PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU. Since that time, in addition to articles devoted to aviation problems, an extensive range of WOPK [National Antiaircraft Defense Forces] articles also appears in its columns. This was the organ's profile in the 1970's, as it continues today.

WIRAZE

This air force and WOPK weekly began publication at the start of 1957. The editorial staff is located in Poznan in the Political Office of the Air Force Command. The weekly is also printed in Poznan. WIRAZE is intended for air force and WOPK personnel.

The Eskadra

This is the air force's concert group, which was established 16 November 1960 in Warsaw. Within 6 months of its formation, the group inaugurated its artistic activities with its first program, called "Kolujemy na Start." By the end of 1980, Eskadra presented 19 programs and performed 4,285 concerts, which were heard by 3,750,000 people. Lt Col Ziemomysl Anger has been the group's director of many years; the artistic director is Mgr Edward Wieczorkiewicz. Eskadra is headquartered in Poznan.

The Grunwald Military Sports Club

This military sports club for pilots was formed in Poznan in 1947. In its first decade, the club underwent many organizational modifications.

The club has about 300 members in four sections: wrestling, hunting, handball and soccer. It conducts extensive sport activities among air force cadres of the Poznan garrison and their families.

11899
CSO: 2600/331

OFFICIALS DISCUSS CRIME, POLICE ACTIONS

Police Actions Defended

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2 Jul 81 p 4

[Interview with Lt Stefan Dziedzic, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee in the Citizens' Militia, at the voivodship headquarters in Legnica, by Krzysztof Debek: "A Policeman Does Not Have the Right to Be Passive"; no date given]

[Text] DEBEK: Concern is growing because of the state of public safety, the activity of criminal groups, and the lack of effective action on the part of the police. Many party and union organizations have declared their full support of security organs in the struggle with criminality, at the same time demanding effective and decisive police action. What does your party organization have to say to that?

DZIEDZIC: We have contacted all basic party organization (POP) and police organization units in our voivodship for their opinion on the state of security and for suggestions on what action to take to assure law and order. This was prompted by our internal discussion, concluding with a plenary session of the plant committee and its resolutions.

DEBEK: Could you give a few words on this subject?

DZIEDZIC: The Citizens' Militia (MO) and Security Service (SB) of the Legnica garrison wish to countreac decisively the rising crime and violations of social co-existence standards. We, the MO and the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia (ORMO), are primarily responsible for law and order. However, we need to create social conditions for accomplishing legally sanctioned activities. At any rate, an action program has evolved at voivodship headquarters to raise security, a program which all POPs have obligated themselves to support with effort over and beyond normal official hours.

DEBEK: More specifically, what is the meaning of "social conditions for accomplishing goals?" What is society supposed to do?

DZIEDZIC: Society should not interfere.

DEBEK: Is that all? You don't want help?

DZIEDZIC: I have already said that the maintenance of order is our responsibility and our obligation. After all, it is our job.

DEBEK: But public citizen law-and-order patrols have already seen service, as in Otwock.

DZIEDZIC: That was a special example. Cooperation with the police is not supposed to depend on active assistance. Incidentally, has anyone thought of the consequences in the event of a beating or the crippling of a public patrol member for such prosaic things as the lack of protection afforded every police officer? Besides, a uniform deters physical attack--to a lesser extent, to be sure, than heretofore, if but by the threat of punishment. Moreover, such a risk is figured into our job; we take it consciously. Every officer undergoes appropriate training and is prepared to take care of himself under such circumstances.

DEBEK: That kind of attitude pleases me. However, I still do not know what you need us for, as long as, fortunately, we do not have to step out with nightsticks and fight thieves.

DZIEDZIC: There has to be a social acceptance of our efforts. That is lacking more and more frequently, something which I also learn incessantly from the press, radio and television. In the face of a crowd's hostile attitude, an official is helpless and a criminal goes free.

DEBEK: We learn from the same sources of numerous appeals, resolutions and expressions of support for various actions to increase our security. Thus, you have most of the public for you and a small margin against you. The minority is active and threatening but it is weaker than you. Perhaps the incidental attitudes of a hostile crowd, and the assertion of public disapproval linked with it, is only an alibi for your weakness and incompetence in taking the offensive against crime.

DZIEDZIC: We are assured of comprehensive assistance from the Municipal Trade Union Committee of the Independent Autonomous Trade Union (MKZ NSZZ) "Solidarity" in Legnica; NSZZ "Solidarity" in Huta Miedzi "Legnica"; a telegram that came today from Zlotoryja, where a meeting was held by representatives of the KZ PZPR in ZUG [expansion unknown] "Lena"; the local "solidarity"; trade unions; city heads; and police station functionaries. These are but examples of the assistance offered us.

DEBEK: Could not one or two drunken ringleaders muster an equally drunken mob and take over the city? Will the police hide because that "public" will be against them?

DZIEDZIC: We have the capabilities for mastering each such situation. However, it is necessary to take into account the probable consequences of that kind of intervention. They could be incalculable. Thus, a decision cannot be undertaken without the absolute certainty that it is necessary.

DEBEK: But citizens want to sleep peacefully. Specifically, can Otwock be repeated?

DZIEDZIC: That is not a question for me. I am not the commanding officer.

DEBEK: The first secretary of the voivodship headquarters MO must have his own opinion.

DZIEDZIC: I do not believe that it could repeat itself.

DEBEK: You urge reflection in undertaking intervention. By any chance, are police officers not becoming overly cautious, do they not easily resign from action, excusing themselves with helplessness?

DZIEDZIC: That is something of which I know nothing.

DEBEK: Public opinion suspects that.

DZIEDZIC: Each such report will be investigated at headquarters, and service charges will be filed against the officer. A policeman does not have the right to be passive when a disturbance is created.

DEBEK: That is nicely said.

DZIEDZIC: We are doing everything to avoid a deviation from that rule. On the one hand a system of controls and management supervision of individual work performance was improved. On the other, there is educational training whose purpose is to make personnel sensitive to the complicated situation, to call their attention to proper and rapid action on the street.

DEBEK: That is a field of action for party organizations.

DZIEDZIC: It is not only for them. But, actually, problems of internal discipline, impartial observance of rules under which we operate, and law-abiding action by security organs at all times are at the center of attention in all POPs and our committee. Together we seek the most effective methods of action by security organs in the present situation. This means having our people prepared as well as possible for difficult conditions, and swift, appropriate evaluation and reaction in all circumstances in which they might find themselves while on duty. However, a police officer is forced to make his own decision as to the manner of intervention, or withdrawal in the event that social acceptance is lacking. In the course of each situation he can be guided only by his own judgment and his own evaluation of the situation and he takes on the full consequences of any mistake.

DEBEK: That is interesting. Am I to believe that the major in charge in Bydgoszcz could have arrived at a different decision in exercising his own judgment?

DZIEDZIC: You're joking. There was a clear order and it had to be executed.

DEBEK: Was the order appropriate?

DZIEDZIC: One does not question orders.

DEBEK: However, all Poland has been carrying on a discussion about this for several months. Did your party organization say anything on the subject of the Bydgoszcz occurrence?

DZIEDZIC: It is difficult to make any kind of judgment while the investigation has not been completed.

DEBEK: Police authority has been impaired in the community precisely because of the use of police to defend what is not always the public interest.

DZIEDZIC: What am I supposed to say?

DEBEK: You should say that you don't want the police to be manipulated on behalf of suspected special interests against society.

DZIEDZIC: Of course, we don't want that. But that question is not for us to answer. We--please underscore this word--serve. We execute orders and cannot be responsible for those who issue them.

DEBEK: Many party organizations advance the proposal that the police be used solely to combat various kinds of criminality and never for political contests.

DZIEDZIC: There are no nonpolitical police anywhere in the world. That's utopia. Also, there are no security organizations anywhere that would not execute the constitutional authority's orders. Perhaps that is not the subject of our conversation.

DEBEK: However, the subject can be the level of observing legal standards by your officers. This is something on which opinion about police is also shaped and which lately is not the best.

DZIEDZIC: Are we going to talk about insinuations, slanders and libelous campaign against the police consciously conducted by a particular group of people for the purpose of weakening authority? Are we also going to be talking about proven instances that occur, because a policeman is a human being and there are no people of spotless integrity? We strive to recruit people who have been checked and are capable of service. The training-probation period lasts 3 years. Just 2 weeks ago, before I was selected as first secretary, I was the commander of the district administration of the Citizens' Militia [Zaklad Okregowy Milicji Obywatelskiej--ZOMO], so that I know the selection mechanism from experience. Of course, this or that official will take advantage of his authority, break the law, betray a trust. If we get information about such a case--it could also be anonymous--and it turns out to be true, we will not be indifferent, if only in our own interest. If -- work is to be effective, it must be based on public trust.

DEBEK: Now I have a question that Legnica residents obliged me to ask. Was it absolutely necessary to appropriate the workers' hotel for the headquarters of the voivodship command?

DZIEDZIC: We've waited for our own headquarters from the day of the administrative reform and the establishment of the voivodship command. We simply had no place to work in our quarters on Aasyka Street. Even the interrogations of witnesses and suspects took place in crowded rooms.

DEBEK: Finally, let us return to the matter of security. You mentioned the program of action drawn up and the obligations of all POPS to support it with supplemental effort after official hours. What does that mean?

DZIEDZIC: It means what I said. For example, employees of the criminal, investigative and preventive services will be patrolling the city streets after their tours of duty. Soldiers of the signal corps school have also volunteered to help in patrol service. In short, we will do everything to assure law and order in our area. That is our task and obligation to the citizens.

DEBEK: Thank you for the conversation.

Economic Crimes

Warsaw TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA in Polish 7 Jul 81 p 4

[Interview with Col Eugeniusz Gecynger, director, Office on Combating Economic Crimes, main headquarters of the Citizens' Militia, by Krysztof Szczesniak: "Under the Police Telescope"; no date given]

[Text] We are talking with Col Eugeniusz Gecynger, director, Office on Combating Economic Crimes, Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia.

SZCZESNIAK: Sir, if you will allow it, I will begin this conversation with enumerating the crimes with which your office is concerned: appropriation of property, bribery, large-scale mismanagement, paid protection, and revenue crimes (including foreign exchange smuggling). Which of these gives you the most problems?

GECYNGER: Undoubtedly, bribery does. This involves the mutual interest of the giver as well as of the receiver; the lack of proofs in a criminal sense because, of course, money is not a proof of individual qualities; and then the lack of witnesses. In addition, the legal system does not facilitate breaking the solidarity of both parties. Both are responsible for the crime. Thus, the number of cases of bribery brought to light is incomparably small in relation to the actual offenses. Public opinion says that everyone takes bribes but when one asks who and how much, there is silence.

Another group of crimes that are difficult to detect are property appropriation swindles. Why is that? As a rule, everything is in order from the outside and from the standpoint of documentation. I call this the "principle of apparent legality." The makeup of this criminal group is basically the same. It attracts people who have access to documentation and to merchandise and workers who perform inspection or management functions. Almost always it involves the appropriation of so-called unrecorded surpluses.

SZCZESNIAK: What are unrecorded surpluses?

GECYNGER: That is the difference between the quantity of goods actually produced and what can be learned from the documentation. If, for example, a standard anticipates that 100 kg of raw materials will yield 70 kg of product, but actually 75 kg

is obtained, then those 5 kg are surplus. As a rule, they are obtained at the expense of substantially lower product quality. In effect, we have worse pork meat products, etc.

SZCZESNIAK: In what sector of the economy is it easiest "to make" surpluses?

GECYNGER: It is in the food industry, light industry, and chemical industry. Along with large quantities, there are large surpluses. Despite appearances, criminals of this type not only strike at the public interest but also at the family budget. That is why we fight them so.

SZCZESNIAK: But of course it is not that simple. In what ways do you arrive at your discoveries of crimes?

GECYNGER: Most important is the identification of the method because the manner of operation cannot be accidental. It is always determined by the official circulation of goods or of money. Because surpluses reach hundreds of kilograms, their payee can only be trade--they can be liquidated there.

We ourselves conduct economic analyses or use the analyses of social economy units. If we come across data that indicate that the use of spare parts in a given establishment is increasing rapidly, that is something to make one think. Why is it increasing? If for example we find that there were thefts of furniture in plants in Opole and we discover a 155-person criminal group, then we generalize this fact and examine whether thefts are being conducted in the same way in other plants of that kind. In addition, a substantial percentage of disclosures are made through information from the public.

SZCZESNIAK: Are the disclosures anonymous?

GECYNGER: They do include anonymous tips. Especially recently we note a veritable flood of them. Although it takes a lot of work and ties our hands, so to speak, we check out every one of them. The highest index of corroboration appears with respect to illegal construction. In addition we get signed letters.

SZCZESNIAK: Do you treat these as more worthy of consideration than anonymous letters?

GECYNGER: What is most important is the specific weight of the matter in question. That is the primary factor.

SZCZESNIAK: Let us return to your activities. It appears that you are not complaining about the lack of something to do these days?'

GECYNGER: It is not entirely like that. The seeming inference that the Office on Combatting Economic Crimes was established only after "September" [1980] is not correct. In the course of the first months of 1980, we brought to light about 25 percent more crimes of an economic nature than in the same period this year.

We are pondering that to this day. For the time being, we ascribe that to the substantial economic chaos, which hampers our work. Despite it, during the last 5 months

we have unmasked 142 so-called crimes involving the appropriation of public property through swindling, crimes that have resulted in losses of 280 million zlotys. During the same period, we had 97 cases of mismanagement (threefold more than in the year before) and 359 bribery offenses (almost a twofold increase).

SZCZESNIAK: Taking the country's economic situation into consideration, what will your future activity look like?

GECYNGER: Our work depends in large measure on expectations. For example, we had for a long time anticipated an increase in speculation as a consequence of the worsening market situation. Our expectations have proven true to a T. We are just implementing the methodical guidelines prepared for combatting speculation.

We have undertaken preventive inspection of suspended investments for the purpose of preventing property waste, so that something already built is not damaged. We have also placed agriculture under our telescope. The strategic goal of our undertakings is the restriction of criminality, primarily theft of public property and mismanagement. In addition to this, we are participating in efforts to improve penal law standards pertaining to economic crimes.

SZCZESNIAK: Does that mean making them more stringent?

GECYNGER: That is not necessarily true. We are not advocates of severe penal repressions but rather their effectiveness. In some instances--bribery, for example--we believe that penal responsibility should be annulled in the cases of persons paying bribes on demand, if they reveal that to prosecuting organs no later than the first hearing. In turn, we advocate tightening responsibility for those who prey on working people and exploit a difficult market situation. We have submitted a proposal not only to tighten penalties but also to speed the sentencing of speculators.

SZCZESNIAK: But it will not be possible to root out the plague of speculation until there is a sufficient amount of goods on the market. Every child knows that.

GECYNGER: Yes, that is true but because goods are not arriving, and we do not know how long this situation will last, fighting speculation by penal law is the only possible defense of people earning the least money at this time.

SZCZESNIAK: Despite everything, is this not a battle against windmills?

GECYNGER: No, assuredly no, the statistics verify that. From January to June we instituted 2,100 inquiries involving speculation, and 6,300 findings found their way to governing councils.

SZCZESNIAK: Despite that, there are more, rather than less, traders and speculators.

GECYNGER: That is because the trade is profitable and the repressions of little effectiveness. We propose to make them more stringent through high fines and the confiscation of merchandise.

The 3,000 notifications that we sent to state administrative and economic organs are also worthy of mention. These entailed irregularities or actual crimes regarding

trade transactions and requested counteraction against the criminal phenomena through organization resources. It would be worthwhile to trace a few of these to see if anything were done about them there. We do not always get replies to our notifications.

SZCZESNIAK: Colonel, we have been talking in generalities. Could you furnish a couple of actual examples of action by your office?

GECYNGER: Of course, I can. In the area of agriculture, in Tywice (Szczecin voivodship) we recently discovered mismanagement to the tune of 14 million zlotys. Because of bad breeding conditions and improper zoological care in that cooperative, many animals die. Five of the cooperative's management personnel have been indicted.

The voivodship committee MO in Szczecin has completed its procedure against a group of workers in management positions at the State Farms Instalu, Zrembu and Technical Services Enterprise who are suspected of taking 2 million zlotys in bribes in exchange for an allotment of machinery, construction materials, and coupons for automobiles.

In Bielsko Biala, 17 persons are suspected of stealing 900,000 zlotys worth of parts and subassemblies for Fiat 126p from the Low Liter Automobile Factory.

In Piotrkow Trybunalski, an investigation has just been completed relative to abuses committed by 14 tradesmen who swindled more than 13 million zlotys from 1978-1980 while doing construction work for socialized units and raising the prices of their services. Will that suffice?

SZCZESNIAK: It will. Thank you.

Increase in Crime

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 31 Jul 81 p 8

[Interview with Magistrate (M.A.) Maciej Tomaszewski, regional prosecutor in Szczecin, and Magistrate Lt-Col Jan Krzyzaniak, local MO commander in Szczecin, by Maciej Czekala: "On Safe Days and Nights"; no date or place given]

[Text] Controversial discussions have been taking place for some months throughout Poland on the subject of security and order in the country. The hooligan excesses that have occurred in various parts of the country, active attacks on officials of the Citizens' Militia (MO), the frightening statistics on the increase in crime published by individual institutions and departments--these evoked, and continue to evoke, varied opinions on the part of the public. Why are they so controversial? Perhaps the explanation is relatively simple. It is associated with the past information policy. Security organs then identified themselves in showy public presentations with high (and steadily rising) indexes of crime detection. The information program did not call the public's attention to the crime or social phenomena taking place, which was constantly being signaled to the authorities by MO offices, prosecutors and social organizations. The high crime index of young people, alcoholism as a factor associated with an enormous amount of rising crime, and the use of narcotics, were shamefully passed over in silence.

When we speak about this openly, the public can react with a feeling of disbelief and a suspicion that we are being frightened by all of this. What are the facts? We asked some competent people, people responsible for the security of our city, to discuss this subject; Magistrate (M.A.) Maciej Tomaszewski, the regional prosecutor in Szczecin, and Magistrate Lt-Col Jan Krzyzaniak, the local MO commander in Szczecin. Prosecutor Tomaszewski recently expressed himself very broadly on these subjects during an election-program conference of the local PZPR committee in Szczecin.

KURIER: I am addressing the first question to both gentlemen. About 6 weeks ago, I included some information in KURIER on the subject of security in our region. That appraisal, based on data obtained from the voivodship prosecutor's office in Szczecin, was optimistic in certain respects. As a voivodship, we are not a national "crime leader"; the number of major crimes (murders, rapes) has decreased. On the other hand, the increase in crimes in absolute numbers in our voivodship is about 21 percent and is caused by an increase in "small" crimes, such as break-ins into basements. Do you gentlemen confirm these conclusions?

TOMASZEWSKI: I have a few words on this subject before I answer that question. You say that the controversies in society relative to crime and other social pathologies are associated, in some degree, with the past information policy. We agree. Neither do I have a good idea on adding to the public's information on this fundamental problem.

Actually, opinions and announcements are being published that shake the credibility of data on the real increase in crime and the substantial deterioration of order and public safety. The only people who can come to such conclusions are those who do not consider objective facts but look at the problem quite subjectively. However, it is not necessary to reach for statistics and publications in this area because close observation, if only of what is happening in the streets or from mass communication sources, arouses the alarm and fear of every person who is sensitive to evil.

To answer the specific question, I will say that the data cited are unquestionable; however, they pertain solely not to the city of Szczecin but to the Szczecin voivodship and to the last 3-month period. On the other hand, the conclusion that you draw from the data namely, that as a voivodship we are not a part of the "crime leader" group--unfortunately is not correct. Despite the systematic improvement in law and order in the last decade, the Szczecin voivodship and the city of Szczecin have always belonged to the most crime-threatened areas of Poland. The police chief and I feel particularly competent to talk about the actual situation in Szczecin. The crime situation here, in relation to the voivodship, looks as follows: more than 40 percent of the voivodship's population lives in our city while the crimes committed here exceed 50 percent. During a 5-month period this year, there were over 900 more crimes than during the same 5-month period last year.

KRZYZANIAK: We noted a substantial increase in crime in Szczecin since the fourth quarter of 1980. The largest increase, almost 500 percent, was robberies with break-in into private buildings. Criminals have been, and are, attacking dwellings, cellars, garages and cars. However, the number of thefts of personal property for which a break-in is not necessary, is also growing. These are various types of predatory robberies such as tearing a gold chain off the neck of a woman walking on a street. The number of pickpocket robberies has also increased. People are

standing in compact queues in front of stores, which provides a field of action for queue thieves. Jammed buses and trains are also an excellent field of action for thieving groups.

Now that summer has arrived, people are losing bicycles, motorcycles and cars in great numbers.

TOMASZEWSKI: Generally speaking, the dangerous state of crime growth is reflected in the very serious increase, particularly in criminal acts against citizen life, health and property, as well as against public property.

Perpetrators are characterized by unusual brutality, indifference and contempt for the basic principles of social coexistence. The number of crimes committed by parasites, inebriates, recidivists and juveniles is growing.

I note the question in the introduction on whether the social pathology phenomena mentioned are new and only appear today.

An affirmative answer would be a falsehood. No, these phenomena are not new and did not appear only in recent months, although in the past, despite warnings, not everyone wanted to see them in proportions appropriate to the threats. However, it is true that in the country's complicated and qualitatively new sociopolitical and economic policy, numerous social pathology phenomena emerged with a special sharpness, and in new dimensions. Circumstances have arisen that embolden asocial circles to take criminal action, while the indifference sometimes observed, favors this and at times is even conducive to asocial circles hampering an MO official acting on behalf of law and public safety.

I consider such negative phenomena as transitory. It will not alter my conviction that the bulk of our society sees a safeguard in law and order for the changes taking place, a guarantee of democracy, and of law and order.

KURIER: We turn now to statistical data. I am addressing this question to the local MO commander. Colonel, you direct a large police unit in a large city. Are the facts that you presented to us today an effect of "renovation," or did the figures before September [1980] have to be nice and, thus, there "was no room" for everything, while now every criminal act is recorded and that is why crime "increases" reach several hundred percent?

KRZYZANIAK: The question--whence this increase, why it is taking place now--probably bothers everyone. It is a question that appears constantly in meetings that we are conducting with Szczecin residents. We are also asking it of ourselves as professionals. It is difficult to furnish an exhaustive answer to this question in a single article, because this is an unusually broad subject involving a series of constantly changing conditions. Hence, from necessity, I will restrict myself to what I consider the most important aspects of this problem.

This alarming increase pertains first of all to crimes for profit, something closely associated with the existing economic situation. To the extent that, with respectable people, man's natural tendency to live better manifests itself in assured income through work, with criminals it manifests itself in obtaining ever greater gains

from activity at loggerheads with the law. Criminals even find justification for committing more crimes now: after all, their living costs are constantly rising. When all is said and done, the cost of "basic" beverages also went up. They know that it is easier to find an appetizer in someone else's cellar than in a store. A person is seized with wonder when he learns that a casket of jewelry ingeniously hidden (in the owner's opinion) from robbers or several hundred thousand zlotys has been stolen.

KURIER: Mr Prosecutor, do you observe something in the nature of a "shift" in criminal trends?

TOMASZEWSKI: It is not possible to talk about economic crime changes. We will continue to devote particular attention to combatting and revealing broadly understood economic crime, especially dangerous group swindling, mismanagement, waste and speculation. We are obliged to do this by the public's justified outrage with this type of crime, and the increase in crime which continues to be concentrated in the food industry, transportation, trade, construction, services and catering businesses.

Various common, cumulative reasons lie at the base of such crime. It is significant that more than 60 percent of public property seizure crimes are perpetrated by employees against their employers, including employees responsible for the protection of public property. The situation requires special action, particularly since this is happening in establishments in which--at least officially--an internal inspectorate and management are in operation, taking money for its services. This constitutes an expression of unconcern on the part of some establishment managers with respect to the protection of public property. In essence, combatting these phenomena by punishment is an attack on results and not on causes. A substantial restriction on the conditions that favor this crime is anticipated with the introduction of economic reform and with the development of self-government in work establishments.

KURIER: We often speak of the need for the cooperation on the part of respectable people in creating a system for the security of their own property. However, not long ago the police were complaining about public indifference and the fact that sometimes when they tried to intervene, people interfered with them.

J. KRZYZANIAK: That is true. However, lately perhaps some improvement is beginning to take place insofar as policeman-citizen is concerned. For example, when a tragic accident happened on Victory Square--a streetcar demolished our ambulance--people spontaneously started to offer help to the injured policemen. In addition, without being asked by our team, they offered their names and indicated their willingness to appear as witnesses.

TOMASZEWSKI: Last of all, I would like to say that we view the actual rise in crime and symptoms of social pathology that were presented, with a good deal of concern and great uneasiness. We treat the existing situation as a need for subordinating all of the actions of our offices in order to restrict crime growth and eliminate the conditions that give rise to crime or favor it. The statement that the public has a right to deal with these problems primarily through specialized offices of order and prosecution, is a truism. Considering, however, that a conversation with a journalist is a conversation with readers, hence with the public, I must say that

pathology and crime are social phenomena that spread under specific social conditions because of specific reasons. Thus, the radical restriction of these negative phenomena will never be possible without broad, active participation of the public. In making this statement, I wish to say that the success of action by specialized state organs on behalf of order and security, is based on the cooperation of such organs with the collective organs of work establishments, the Peoples' Council and state and economic administration and self-governing social organizations. That is why we value cooperation highly and are constantly striving for its improvement.

KURIER: Colonel, is it true that many policemen are offering--as it is said in civilian life--their resignations during the existing situation?

J. KRZYZANIAK: I cannot answer that question unequivocably. Our people's work is exceptionally difficult and we are aware of that. However, I cannot deny [text illegible] about release from work. Here is a typical example. Recently, a young, very promising policeman came to me. He presented his request for release from MO work. "Too bad that you are leaving," I said to him. "As managers, we are well satisfied with your work." In answer I heard, "Comrade Commander, so much is said today about our assorted splendid privileges. I have a family to support. I have no possibility of getting my own place to live; I live as a subtenant, something for which I pay dearly. In short, I will earn more. At this moment, that is the most important thing for me and my family."

Perhaps that conversation also answers the question presented to me.

KURIER: Thank you for the discussion.

10,433
CSO: 2600/332

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL MINISTRIES ANNOUNCED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 8 Sep 81 p 2

[Presidential Decree on Appointments to and Removals from Positions]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the machine building industry:

--Nicu Constantin

--Constantin Ionescu

--Ilarie Munteanu

--Gheorghe Nestorescu

--Alexandru Rosu

--Stelian Teodorescu

Article 2--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the machine tool industry, electrical engineering and electronics:

--Gheorghe Boldur

--Ion Constantinescu

--Alexandru Necula

--Virgiliu Stere

Article 3--Comrade Vasile Baltac is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine Tool Industry, Electrical Engineering and Electronics.

Article 4--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of mines:

--Gheorghe Fulea

--Aurel Lapusca

--Romica Stanciu

Article 5--Comrade Dumitru Craciun is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Mines.

Article 6--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of petroleum:

--Nicolae Amza

--Victor Murea

Article 7--Comrade Andrei Ene is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum.

Article 8--Comrade Petru Cojan is appointed deputy minister of geology.

Article 9--Comrade Nicolae Murgu is appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Article 10--Comrades Alexandru Toader and Ion Popescu are relieved of their positions as deputy ministers of mines, petroleum and geology.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 7 September 1981

No 210

CSO: 2700/11

ORTHODOX CHURCH HOSTS JAPANESE BUDDHIST PEACE PILGRIMS

Bucharest BISERICA ORTODOXA ROMANA in Romanian No 1-2, Jan-Feb 81 pp 36-40

[Article by Lecturer Dr Remus Rus: "The Visit to Our Country of a Delegation of Buddhist Monks"]

[Excerpts] As an example of the effective involvement of all religious organizations in the struggle for peace, the Romanian Orthodox Church received the visit of a group of Buddhist monks from Japan who were making a pilgrimage of peace throughout the world, as a protest against the arms race and, especially, against nuclear weapons. The visit of this group began on 29 December 1980. Upon its arrival, the group of Buddhist monks was met by Remus Rus, lecturer in religious history in the University Theological Institute in Bucharest and Father I. Protopopescu from the Church Foreign Relations Department of the Romanian Patriarchate. The following were members of the delegation: Ven. Atsushi Kawagishi, leader of the delegation and of the "Peace" pagoda in Hiroshima, Rev Jeshitsugu Oyama, Rev Seiji Handa, Rev Shiro Nagase and Rev Tsutamu Kijima. During its visit to our country, which lasted until 7 January 1981, the group was accompanied by Remus Rus.

As part of their schedule, which was conceived and approved by Patriarch Justin of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the guests visited important religious centers in our country, monasteries, parishes and university cities. In Bucharest the group was received by Bishop Vasile Tirgovisteancu, patriarchal vicar, who greeted them in the name of Patriarch Justin. From Bucharest they went to Moldavia. In Iasi, the guests were able to celebrate the New Year according to the Buddhist religious tradition. They also participated in the Sacred Liturgy celebrated in the cathedral by Metropolitan Teoctist of Moldavia and Suceava. There was an official reception for the Buddhist delegation at which the members of the delegation were invited to speak to the priests of Iasi.

On 3 January the guests went to Cluj-Napoca where they were welcomed into the cathedral by His Holiness Justinian Maramuresanu. He greeted the Buddhist guests and expressed the hope that through the united efforts of all people a common peace front would be established in the entire world. The Venerable Kawagishi replied, emphasizing the common desire of all those who believe in God to establish an atmosphere of peace in the world and asked for prayers and common solidarity in the struggle for general and nuclear disarmament.

On 5 January the guests went to Oradea. They were received by Bishop Vasile of Oradea in the cathedral and attended the Sacred Liturgy. In the afternoon, they went to parish of Tinca and spoke to the parishioners.

Before they left Romania, the guests gave us an interview.

Question: In Japanese society there is a tradition of filial duty. To what extent can the respecting of this duty be a basis for consolidating and expanding relations among people?

Answer: Filial duty is a traditional Japanese belief expressed in the teachings of Buddha. It represents one of the most important doctrines. Each family unit represents, on a reduced scale, general human society. Each nation is a family. Just as children should respect their parents each member of society should feel responsible for all men and for all women. We are convinced that if filial duty is respected in the entire world there will no longer be any killings and violence.

Question: You have visited Romania and have had an opportunity to observe life in our country and the religious life of the people. What impressions do you have?

Answer: First of all, we were impressed by the strength of the Romanian Orthodox Church which is carrying out its activity freely in a socialist country. In the second place, we were impressed by the deep faith of the people and by the large number of the faithful present at the services. The churches which we visited in Iasi, Cluj-Napoca and Oradea were filled with worshippers. The construction of new churches and the broad participation in religious services are clear examples of religious freedom in Romania. The appeal for peace of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church is a clear example of the struggle for peace in Romania. All that we have seen in Romania shows us that we are not alone in our peace efforts.

CSO: 2700/18

TIMISOARA JAIL BREAK, SHOOT-OUT REPORTED IN ENIGRE PRESS

Paris BIULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian 1 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Sensational Jail Break Which Ends in a Bloodbath in the Timisoara Airport"]

[Text] On the morning of 23 August three prisoners escaped from the Timisoara jail along with a guard who facilitated their escape. All four were armed with machine guns which they took from the jail. When they went out on the street they signalled a bus to stop and they got on the bus. Some 40 passengers on the bus were held at gunpoint and the driver was ordered to drive to the city airport. Meanwhile, when the alarm was sounded from the jail and it was learned that the bus was headed for the airport, armed troops surrounded the airport. When they arrived there, the escapees demanded to be allowed to enter the airport and demanded that an airplane be placed at their disposal, threatening to execute the passengers whom they were holding as hostages if their demands were not met. However, the army received an order to shoot at the bus. The escapees responded with their machine guns. This resulted in a bloodbath during which the 40 passengers, 19 soldiers and two of the three escapees were killed and the other was seriously wounded. The guard who helped in the escape escaped with his life.

An investigation was ordered immediately and the chief of the Securitate and important party members came from Bucharest. It is said that the three prisoners were "frontalists" (that is, they were captured at the border trying to cross into Yugoslavia). Many people have been arrested, including those who work at the jail. The 23 August celebration in Timisoara was cancelled.

CSO: 2700/21

SHORTCOMINGS IN HEALTH CARE CITED IN PLENUM

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 18 Jul 81 pp 1, 6

["Report on the Plenum of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Health Units"]

[Excerpts] On 9 July 1981 there was a plenum of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Health Units. Comrade Floarea Bucur, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the Union of Trade Unions of Romania took part in the plenum.

Despite the good results achieved--the fact that indices of sickness and deaths are lower than in any other time in the entire history of health care in Romania--the analysis and the discussions brought forth a number of shortcomings which hinder the obtaining of better results. There are priority areas in medical care in which not everything has yet been done. For certain groups of the population mortality figures are high compared to other European countries (children under 1 year of age, the aged, deaths of mothers during abortions). Internal infections still occur relatively frequently as a result of failure to observe hygiene regulations and the neglect of aseptic and antiseptic requirements by some health cadres. Also, there have been shortcomings in the execution of long term measures for combating cardiovascular illnesses, cancer, diabetes, and mental illnesses and in the areas of emergency assistance and rehabilitation of workers.

CSO: 2700/19

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

UN APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Jean Livescu is relieved of his position as chairman of the National Commission of the Socialist Republic of Romania for UNESCO. Comrade George Ciucu is appointed chairman of the National Commission of the Socialist Republic of Romania for UNESCO. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETIMUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 8 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/11

SARAJEVO PAPER SCORES 'POLITIKA' ARTICLE ON CHETNIK COMMANDER

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by A. Nuhfendic: "More Resolute and Concrete Activity"]

[Text] The individual commitment of veterans and their organization as a whole in resolving the urgent issues in the development of our society ought to be still greater and better suited to the principle that the veterans' organization bears a part of the responsibility and obligation for everything that happens in our community. Expressing support of this resolution, members of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Committee of SURNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] were referring in yesterday's meeting to the need for a more resolute and concrete activity by participants in the National Liberation War in resolving issues in development whose importance puts them in first place at the moment: implementing the measures of economic stabilization, carrying out investment policy and plans, implementing stands pertaining to fulfillment of the program for the fall planting and production of food, and so on, which they treated equally. The veterans are also expected to maintain their activity undiminished in opposing individuals or groups operating from positions hostile to our socialist system of self-management, to condemn unhesitatingly and combat all types of nationalism, chauvinism, separation and all other hostile activities more or less similar to those already mentioned. The veterans, in the words of Ratko Jovicic, chairman of the republic committee of SURNOR, are not only to give verbal support to the positions, but to demonstrate this commitment of theirs in specific acts.

False Pictures

In view of certain cases of clericalism and attempts to rehabilitate certain war criminals, individuals or groups who during the National Liberation Struggle distinguished themselves with their fratricidal crimes, the presidium issued a communique stating "that the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic of SURNOR has become aware of information on the reaction of the working people and citizens and sociopolitical organizations of the Gorazde District to the feature article entitled "The Waging of War by Gojko Krezovic," written by Veljko Stankovic, which was published by POLITIKA from 17 to 27 August of this year.

The presidium judged that the author had gravely violated the truth in his distorted presentation of events from the time of the war in that feature article, giving a false picture of Gojko Krezovic's role and that of the Chetnik battalion which he commanded.

It is an irrefutable fact that Gojko Krezovic, as a Chetnik battalion commander, together with other Chetniks, participated in late 1941 and early 1942 in numerous Chetnik actions on the territory of the upper Drina region where well-known atrocities were committed against innocent people, and especially in the massacres of the Moslem population of that region. These are facts well known to every veteran of the National Liberation War and Partisan units throughout eastern Bosnia; even during the National Liberation War these acts were condemned as a major atrocity against the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in our country and as a most shameful act of chauvinistic enmity and of service to the occupier.

The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Committee of SUBNOR, having become aware in yesterday's meeting of the numerous reactions of the people and the positions of sociopolitical organizations in Gorazde and other opstinas in this area, agreed to condemn that method of writing.

The presidium judged that Veljko Stankovic's article inflicts serious political damage on our community, since it displayed an obvious tendency to play down Chetnik crimes in order to represent Gojko Krezovic as a kind of fighter for the people, but the facts about him are very well known to the people, and they are horrified at any attempt to falsely portray the truth of history and to shatter the brotherhood and unity and equality which we are constantly fighting to strengthen.

The presidium at the same time noted that POLITIKA committed an intolerable oversight in printing this article without checking with professional scholarly institutions or those who know the true facts about the events involved. It is amazing, in spite of everything that has been said, that the editors of the newspaper POLITIKA have not issued a single word of apology to their numerous readers whom it deceived with untruths for some 10 days. On the contrary, the editors of POLITIKA represent the objective, convincing and resolute reaction of Comrade Rodoljub Colakovic and the assessment of the Presidium of the Gorazde Opstina SAWP Conference "as an indispensable and useful epilogue to the article published," which is certainly a kind of precedent.

Our struggle for brotherhood and unity, equality and socialist community consensus obligates us, in consistently carrying out the policy of the League of Communists and the historic work of Comrade Tito, to be uncompromising in combating all those who in whatever way desire to disunite and lead astray our fraternal nationalities and ethnic minorities and thus jeopardize their life in peace and socialist development. This attempt at reviving the sinister hostile and chauvinistic passions also clearly indicates that there is a need for constant and still greater vigilance and responsibility for such actions.

Aid to Bosanska Krajina

The drafts of two important documents--the Social Compact on Furnishing Funds for Construction and Adaptation of Housing of Participants in the National Liberation War for the Period From 1981 to 1985 and the Criteria for Granting Credits and Socially Owned Funds and Housing To Meet the Housing Needs of Participants in the National Liberation War in SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Hercegovina on the basis of the social compact already mentioned--were also on the agenda of yesterday's meeting. Their principal purpose is to impart more order to solving the problems in this undoubtedly delicate area. It is clear that it will be possible to speak more soundly about these documents only when they are finally verified, but even from the proposed versions and the suggestions which have come in from the various opstina organizations of SUBNOR and those we heard yesterday, one can conclude that housing issues will be settled more rapidly, and certain provisions of the criteria--since they are stated more precisely--will prevent various speculations.

The participants in the meeting learned of the consequences of the earthquake which recently struck Bosanska Krajina and inflicted large property damage on that region. It was pointed out in this connection that veterans behaved in exemplary fashion in this emergency situation, that they have shown a high level of solidarity and sacrifice and have joined all the working people and citizens in offering aid and repairing the consequences of the destructive natural disaster. The veterans expect full solidarity on the part of our entire community, the resolution read, in repairing the serious consequences of the earthquake. It was also resolved that the presidium of the republic committee would send 50,000 dinars from its budget as aid to the regions affected by the earthquake, and officials of the work community of the republic committee, members of the presidium of the republic committee of SUBNOR and secretaries of commissions were issued a recommendation that they each set aside between 2 and 5 days' earnings and send this money as aid to the regions affected by the earthquake.

7045

CSO: 2800/5

YUGOSLAVIA

MORE WAR VETERANS INSTEAD OF FEWER

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by N. Babic: "Softhearted Witnesses"]

[Text] Though several thousand veterans die every year, the number of members of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] is still not decreasing. Over the last 2 years alone the total number of veterans and disabled veterans, who numbered about 1.2 million, have been joined by another 35,000 participants in the war who proved their participation in the National Liberation Struggle before 9 September 1943 with the help of two witnesses. It is also assumed that another several thousand are waiting for their applications for recognition of this war service to be ruled on.

"This large influx of applications for recognition of war service started in late 1976, when the law was amended. After the population census (10 years ago) it was repeated that about 120,000 individuals declared that they had been participants in the National Liberation Struggle, but had no written evidence of this, but could prove their assertion with the help of two witnesses. Since fighting service during the war could no longer be proven with witnesses after late 1966, it was thought that many veterans would be hurt. That is why the new law was passed. The whole campaign was prepared carefully and at length. The results were all satisfactory," we were told by Olivera Stojanovic, director for veterans' affairs in the Federal Committee of SUBNOR of Yugoslavia. It was expected and foreseen that most of the applications would come from farmers and women who do not work. The expectations were not borne out. The applications came in from people who are working and who are gathering documents for their pension.

The law provided that the petition for institution of proceedings could be filed only after a statement was obtained from the presidium of the opstina committee of SUBNOR. It was not easy to obtain this statement, but the figures nevertheless show that only one application in three has been rejected. In the Belgrade opstina of Stari Grad, one of the most populous in our country, they say that they have many problems with witnesses. Some veterans don't take this seriously, and they give testimony for people who were not their fellow fighters.

Less Strict Criteria

We were told in the Federal Committee of SUBNOR that they themselves had recorded several oversights in certain quarters. Usually the problem consisted of less strict criteria, but some commissions are granting pensionable war service even to people who did something unimportant in organizations in the rear, youth organizations and women's organizations. Aside from the irresponsible witnesses and the slack criteria, applications for recognition of war service have recently become quite frequent from people who at that time were barely 10 years old! Many of them went with their parents and relatives into Partisan skirmishes, but for years their status has been defined as presence in the National Liberation Struggle, but not participation.

We have heard from many veterans that there are far more false affidavits and false testimony in large cities than in smaller places, where people know one another and remember events from 40 years ago. Although there have been such cases, the veterans are reluctant to talk about them.

We spoke about these problems with Dragoslav Novakovic, a veteran of the Second Proletarian Brigade and a holder of the 1941 Commemorative Medal, who is deputy secretary for veterans' affairs of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia.

"The veterans of the Second Proletarian know each other well, so that I personally never had a request to give an affidavit for someone who was not in the brigade. But we all have such requests from citizens, sympathizers of the Partisans and of the National Liberation Struggle, who often helped us as much as they could. Here the criteria are also different, but today it is difficult to say whether someone gave a great deal or only a little help to fighters in the war," Dragoslav Novakovic told us. In his opinion these criteria have by and large become less and less strict every year in all the competent commissions.

"When we began to regulate war service of veterans more than 20 years ago, there were not so many material and other benefits. They came later in various laws and regulations, and it is therefore understandable that ever greater interest has been shown in recognition of war service," Dragoslav Novakovic said.

The Deadlines Have Passed

The fact that the number of war veterans is not dropping, but is growing, is being felt most in the funds set aside every year for the benefits of veterans and disabled veterans. They amount to 1.5 percent of the national income, or 13.4 percent of the federal budget. These funds go for veterans' pensions, welfare for disabled veterans, and for health care.

The deadline for proving war service by means of two witnesses has passed according to the law (in 1978), but many cases started long ago (without evidence) are today being supplemented, so that several thousand applications are now before opstina committees of SUBNOR. Up until 1978, when the periods for filing expired, 118,684 new war veterans had applied for recognition of status as war veterans. The presidium confirmed 76,550 applications of opstina committees of SUBNOR, while the rest were rejected.

In veterans' organizations one hears increasingly frequent demands that termination of disputes about recognition of war service should be speeded up. They say that only then will we know exactly how many war veterans are still alive and how much money will be needed for their benefits.

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CHARGES AGAINST SERBIAN PRIESTS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "The 'Gospels' as a Screen"]

[Text] The pious and priests of the Serbian Orthodox faith in the Zvornik-Tuzla Episcopate can be content that thanks to a favorable settlement of their demands, which are based on law, they have all the facilities for religious rites and service. Today this episcopate has about 130 churches, 84 parish houses, 4 monasteries and about 100 priests.

From the Liberation to the present time in this episcopate a large number of churches, monasteries and parish houses have been rebuilt, and at the same time 50 new church structures were built, among them the church at Tutnjevac near Ugljevik, which was recently opened by Patriarch German. Much more has been done here in the reconstruction and construction of sacred structures than in other episcopates in SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Assistance From Society

They are also familiar in this episcopate with considerable material assistance which the sociopolitical community appropriates from its funds for aid in protecting cultural and historical monuments owned by the church, for the health, old-age and disability insurance of religious officers and for operation of the episcopate association of priests. Over the last 10 years that aid has amounted to about 6.9 million dinars.

A large number of deacons, priests, protopopes, priest-deacons, archdeacons, monks and other religious officers in the Zvornik-Tuzla Episcopate are aware that the constitutional precept of the freedom of religious confession has never been, nor will it be empty words, but represent our reality, which in its way is also indicated by the aid which the broader social community is constantly providing to all religious communities in accordance with its material capabilities. Most of the pious, honest people, builders and self-managers in our society, also know this.

In the light of all this it is all the stranger that individuals should have made statements which negligently ignore these and other facts and assert that

religious freedom has been restricted or even curtailed. These and other statements can be made only by those priests of this episcopate who have been informed that this formation of "Orthodox Christian communities" will not do, for the simple reason that it exceeds the bounds of the church's activity. Alas, the interdiction of extrareligious activities is interpreted by such people as a frontal attack not only on the freedom of religious confession, but even on all priests and Orthodoxy as a whole. There would be no need for us to address these remarks, since the decisions of the misdemeanor judges in Bijeljina, Ugljevik and Tuzla have stated what is to be said about the religious officers who are in prison following the misdemeanors.

At the beginning of this month the news media reported that courts had pronounced verdicts for the misdemeanor of arousing religious intolerance and that 60-day prison sentences had been pronounced against the priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church Petar Lukic and Cviko Mojic of Bijeljina, as well as Vlajko Spasojevic of Pozarnica near Tuzla and the private citizens Mihajlo Petric and Branko M. Petrovic, the most prominent activists of the "brotherhood" and violators of the Law on Public Peace and Order. These five, then, misused religion for political purposes, and the entire case ended up as such cases always do--before the face of justice.

Penalties for Abuse

However, there are still several reasons for a more detailed examination of the activity of these five citizens who have been given sentences. Lukic, Mojic and Spasojevic were convicted like any other citizens who have violated the law, such as Petric and Petrovic, so that there is no basis for all those tales about how the priests were being punished for delivering sermons(!). No one who does his job honestly has anything to fear, and rumors like this can originate only with those who want to take shelter behind religious freedom.

Why were Lukic, Mojic and Spasojevic punished?

Petar Lukic, parish priest from Bijeljina, one of the founders of the "Orthodox Christian community," is serving a jail sentence among other things because he aroused ethnic and religious intolerance, the verdict states. That is, when the members of the church proposed that Huso Trbic, a tinsmith, do the roof on the church in Tutnjevac, Lukic said: "Are we to allow a balija [pejorative term for 'Turk'] to do that for us?" Lukic also said in public that Savo Jovic, a priest from Obudovac near Bosanski Samac, had been unjustly sentenced to 6 years in jail, though it has been irrefutably established that Jovic for a long time collaborated with extremist Chetnik organizations, received and distributed leaflets, said untrue things about our society and slandered revolutionaries, violating the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. In Lukic's opinion, the priest Jovic was "framed." The parish priest from Bijeljina also made a number of other false assertions to arouse resentment of the citizenry against government authority.

Cviko Mojic, Orthodox priest in Bijeljina, came into conflict with the law because as secretary of the "Orthodox Christian community" he organized and facilitated the playing of cassettes with a hostile content and messages from

emigres before an audience, which was supposed to be the basis for the activity of the "fraternity." Mojic also slandered the Adventist religious community in a public place, saying that the Adventists had "chosen a dark road, aside from any reasonable line," and in this way aroused religious intolerance between members of the different religious communities.

Vlajko Spasojevic, a monk from Pozarnica, misused the religious rite of burial in that he delivered a speech insulting to the socialist, patriotic and moral sentiments of the citizenry.

Speaking about the existence of God Spasojevic asserted that Marxist science had been refuted in this connection, calling upon all those present to come to the church though he was aware of the fact that there were also atheists at the funeral. He also said that young people had been led astray by erroneous Marxist doctrine.

False Assertions and Rumors

Mihajlo Petric, an engineer from Bijeljina, was convicted because he asserted in the presence of several citizens that the Adventists were renegades from the faith and thus aroused religious intolerance. He also said that our people has been led astray by erroneous doctrine and is thus turning away from God and the church, and that this is especially pronounced among the Serbs in Bosnia, whereby he also conveyed false assertions which could arouse the resentment of the citizenry. In addition, as president of the "fraternity" he obtained a tape allegedly containing the last message of Bishop Velimirovic, a text with a markedly nationalistic content. How far Petric went in his clerical-nationalistic behavior is also demonstrated by his action toward a worker who was his subordinate. On the Orthodox Easter this worker came to him in his office and greeted him with "Good day." Petric answered him with the remark: "Where do you think you are? Don't you know the proper greeting for today? Today the proper greeting is Christ is born [sic]." Some time thereafter that same worker needed a day off. He went to his superior and asked for permission to be absent from work, to which Petric answered: "There is no day off, nor will you ever get one. You know yourself why. Go and get a hold on yourself." (?!)

Branko M. Petrovic, an office worker from Bijeljina, was found guilty and sentenced because he imparted a number of false assertions, saying that the rights of religious people have been infringed solely because they are religious, which is not true at all. He was a member and treasurer of the "fraternity" from its very formation, and in gatherings of religious people in this and other episcopates he was obviously "inspired by hostile pamphlets," and the court concluded, as it did with the others, that he might continue this activity, and it committed them all immediately to serve their sentences.

These, then, are the offenses and the offenders.

And just a cursory glance at the acts committed by those we have named indicates that we are dealing with premeditated antisocialist and antiself-management activities which took place after formation of the "religious brotherhood," since

it was established that its members were "arming themselves" with hostile literature from well-known "arsenals" of bigotry belonging to the Chetnik emigre community, renegades who have betrayed the Serbian people, desiring at all costs to infiltrate their own "views and thoughts" into the country. The "brotherhood" offered them an exceptional possibility for this kind of infiltration, as was immediately confirmed. After all, the pamphlets and books which were found in the possession of certain members of the "fraternity" irrefutably indicate that connection. And the faith which they swear by so much? It was only a shield behind which in the end they were unable to conceal their hostile work even from religious people themselves.

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DECISIONS MADE ON ALBANIAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS IN MACEDONIA

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by V. Mehandziski]

[Text] Beginning in September the requirement for using Albanian language readers in the fifth through eighth grades will be revoked. There are also changes in the curricula for history and literature. A report on the republic pedagogical council meeting is included.

From the information that we have obtained, it can be concluded without exaggeration that the situation in educational institutions where Albanian is the language of instruction is very serious. None of us, however, dares to be drawn into the illusion that the things that are happening are purely incidental. The situation that has developed must be corrected by everyone as soon as possible, in order to change the relationships that have led to this unpleasant situation. A change in the situation must come rapidly, for it is very obvious and clear that the unity of the educational activities in a large portion of the institutions where Albanian is the language of instruction is under threat. These remarks come from the discussion at yesterday's session of the republic pedagogical council in Skopje, and represent the opinions of Anatoli Damjanovski, republic secretary for science and education. At the session they also discussed numerous shortcomings that have emerged in the educational system using Albanian in Macedonia, as well as many activities that are under way or are being initiated for the first time, radical changes being made in unfavorable situations, and trends in this area.

Practic Lags in the Use of Macedonian

In his presentation at the session, Anatoli Damjanovski also spoke of the immense divergence between instructors of Albanian origin and Macedonian instructors, as well as the split between Albanian and Macedonian students. Among other comments, he said, "The split is to be found in numerous areas. There is a split between the teachers and a divergence among students. All of this is moving in the direction of complete mutual isolation, and certain fundamental principles of Yugoslav education activity are being damaged. This picture is complicated by the fact that it is the result of poorly executed personnel policy."

In the same way, Damjanovski referred to the greatly exacerbated problem of the study of the Macedonian language in institutions using Albanian as the language of instruction. In speaking of this problem, he said:

"At present it is impossible to ignore an extremely aggravated problem of the study of the Macedonian language parallel to the Albanian language of instruction. The main reason for bringing up an increasingly worrisome situation is the fact that through the years an extremely negative attitude has developed toward studying Macedonian. In this area, we are faced with unbelievably great tasks."

A Stormy Debate

In a discussion lasting several hours, in which the great majority of those present took part, all the significant contradictions that contribute to the present, highly complex situation in the educational system using Albanian in Macedonia were discussed in a thoroughly open and constructive way. The majority of discussants agreed on one thing: The situation in this area must be blamed on many factors, and it is unacceptable and simply inexplicable how certain republic educational and pedagogical agencies, and other responsible bodies have permitted such negative features to emerge and exist in the field of education.

Many discussants were categorical in their evaluations of the situation, but at the same time they were precise in their proposals on ways to undertake a basic change in those circumstances. In the same way, the discussants insisted that concrete measures be taken against all those who are responsible for the situation that has developed.

A significant part of the session was devoted to debate on suggested changes in the curricula for studies using Albanian as the language of instruction and teaching Albanian language, literature and history at the primary and secondary school levels, and for readers in Albanian for the fifth through eighth grades. The council decided, after considerable debate, that in literature textbooks the works of just three Albanian writers would be removed: Those of I. Kadare, D. Agoli, and S. Spase. The remaining contents would continue to be the same, until a commission--created to prepare a more detailed analysis of which Albanian writers could remain in the program, and which would be eliminated--could complete its work. A decision was also made at the session to eliminate certain curricular material from the history program. In general, the council accepted the recommendations of the commission that had worked on this problem.

It should be noted that the council also approved a resolution to eliminate all readers on the Albanian language from the fifth through eighth grades. Temporarily, pupils will use excerpts that have been specially prepared from the reading materials. These materials will be printed in the children's publication GZIMI, which is printed in Skopje. These excerpts will be used until 10 November, and by that time, the "Prosvetno Delo" (Educational Works) publishing organization will print temporary readers as offprints, to be used during this school year. For next year, a totally new reader will be prepared.

12131

CSO: 2800/353

SLOVENIAN NOVEL CONCERNING 1948 EVENTS REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1599, 23 Aug 81
pp 30-31

[Review by Teodor Andjelic of book "Noc do jutra" (The Night Until Morning) by Branko Hofman]

[Text] It is usually asserted, more "vaguely" than "erroneously," that writers have given the year 1948 a rather cold shoulder, foregoing a fine occasion to take a position concerning those fateful and dramatic events. It is then added: cutting into the tissue of those years involves too great a risk, and the drama of events is so packed with emotions that it explodes at the merest touch.

Some considerable distance of time is needed--that is the essence of this conception--for artistic shaping of the events which are accurately referred to as the great anti-Stalinist revolution.

Branko Hofman, author of the novel "Noc do jutra," a novel about that revolution, has a very definite and by and large different point of view concerning all this.

The risk an author runs in choosing a topic, be it even the Cominform, Hofman says, is a part of his trade: "In his work the writer confronts various uncertainties and risks, just like a pilot or miner runs a risk in his job. This should not be mystified. It should not, because any such mystification is above all harmful to art."

We quickly grasp that words in this vein from the author of the novel "Noc do jutra" are the fruit of personal experience.

Yet he does not want to talk about the ins and outs of the book's publication. Probably he feels it to be sufficient that at the end of the book he recorded that the novel was written between 1968 and 1974. The book reached the reader, however, this June. In the meantime it went from one publisher to another, though in 1975, when it was ready for publication the first time, it received one of the largest subsidies in that year: 22.5 million from the Slovenian Community of Culture (only one book that year, by Jozza Javorsek, received a larger subsidy).

Ideology and Emotions

The book "Noc do jutra" is also an unusual phenomenon in our literary and publishing life because of the "author's text accompanying the novel."

The author has found it suitable to publish a portion of that text. In it we read that the tragic fate of the hero of this tale "by no means signifies a questioning of the justifiability and ethical nature of the historical decisions of the Yugoslav leadership in the conflict with Stalin."

We know today, Hofman says, that that historic No to the generalissimo brought about essential changes in the world.

"But with reference to my novel, I tackled the problem first and its theme and plot only afterward."

"My book's problem is a trouble suffered by all Europeans: We seize upon ideologies with our emotions. And then when the church--which means any ideology once it becomes institutionalized--comes crashing down, the people go on believing in the dogmas. But our No was a No to every church regardless of its color. The fact that in those years we did not know of any other methods of fighting against the church--that is another story."

"Let us draw this parallel: How would the French revolution appear in our eyes if we approached it strictly from the standpoint of the individual--especially from the standpoint of an individual who ended up on the guillotine--and countless of them did? By all appearance history and the individual are often in irreconcilable conflict. The artist has drawn strength and themes from that conflict since ancient Greece up to the present time and will tomorrow."

In the first review of Hofman's novel--a review published in TELEKS in Ljubljana--Dimitrije Šupel says that "it is a long time since I read a text by a Slovenian author so painstakingly written and at the same time so socially relevant."

"Noc do jutra" is a well-balanced product of its kind: The author has divided the more than 270 pages of "material" into 20 chapters, each of which describes its part of the night. The time from midnight to 0800 hours is the time which the novel has at its disposition. During that night the guests in a village coffeehouse await the arrival of the team of investigators, which eventually comes. It is responding to a report that one Minka Koritnikova has been raped and killed in the village. The innkeeper Joza and his brother Peter talk nervously in the hours of waiting, one reason being that the man who has come to investigate the crime is to blame for a tragedy in Peter's life.

Peter (a former revolutionary and Partisan) spent 8 years of his youth in prison on a hellish island because of the following words uttered in a dormitory at a spa after a party meeting: "I don't know whether they were lying before or are lying now."

The Reviewer's Judgment

... The main part of the novel (set off from the rest of the text by different type) takes place in Peter's prison. Beatings, sadism, cruelty, torture and death. The unbearable heat, the unbearable deprivation, the spying and informing, and the interrogation. After 2 years (this is the period after which the investigating bodies must release the prisoner if there has been no trial), a moment of freedom in a town on the coast. But he has been shadowed, and he is already arrested again: The counting of a new 2-year period begins: of "freedom" for those who play fast and loose with the law and 2 years of torture for the disenfranchised victim.

Dimitrije Rupel judges that these and the other prison flashbacks are the best and strongest part of Hofman's novel. And he concludes: "Actually this is not a story about a victim of Stalinism, but a meditation on the dispute between the instrumental and the intellectual mind."

The investigator Kovac is today an ordinary overworked man; he is no longer a believer, but only a bureaucrat. He investigates these "suicidal nights" with a feeling of fatigue and without thoroughness. And the former camp inmate Peter, on the other hand, has that unconquerable recollection within him, but now without that hidden and harried pride which distinguishes the persecuted: that pride which affords him at least a little superiority over his persecutor.

"Noc do jutra" does not attempt to make a moralistic choice between the exploiter and the victim: The writer does not divide the world into the dark half and the light half. The critics have noted this as a particular virtue of this novel.

In another issue of TELEKS a review of the novel was written by Andrej Inkret, who incidentally, along with Jozef Snoj and the late Beno Zupancic, was a reader of "Noc do jutra" for the publisher (all the opinions from the publisher's readers were "favorable" to the novel).

Inkret finds that Hofman's book is "perhaps our first book to speak with the storyteller's natural powers of observation about events and destinies of which we have known virtually nothing, at least in a legitimate way. Viewed from that standpoint, the question certainly arises about the particular obligations and duties of literature, which in our case must obviously still do that part of a job which, incidentally, by the nature of things, certainly belongs more emphatically to the writing of history, for example, and to memoirs."

Not under the Carpet

One review of Hofman's book says that it has not lost anything of its force and topicality from waiting 7 years for publication. Branko Hofman particularly cherishes that testimony.

The author says of the way in which he gathered material for this novel that it consisted by and large of a survey of people who had been on Goli Otok during those years.

He does not regard that part of the job as especially important. He says: "I was writing a literary work. I was not constructing an illustration." In that survey of survivors Hofman conducted many conversations with former revolutionaries. He discovers that many of them were "utter pagans" when they went in. But they came out fanatics!

"In human nature--at its very heart--it seems that they both exist: both fanaticism and questioning. Today we say 'alternatives.' If Copernicus had not questioned--where would we be now? Another Copernicus would have come along! But tragedy is individual. And life. Death ... isn't. Death would become tragic if only one of us managed to survive it, to go on living. Death is a senseless and logical phenomenon. It is not tragic. It is life that is tragic." Branko Hofman believes that for writers today the times are "a bit hard, but creative."

As for the relationship between art and history, he says that if something from our past does not please us today, we must not sweep it "under the carpet." On the contrary, we should remove the carpet and sweep up what bothers us.

The writer goes on to tell us: "You say that I have not given a real answer yet to why I took Goli Otok? Because of the silence. The birds twittered about it, good-for-nothings told all sorts of tales, those who had been imprisoned there maintained a silence by agreement, mysteriousness evoked fantasy, stories were passed on, and a myth was created from the unstated. I said to myself: a society that has set socialism as its goal, in spite of its dialectical split in conflict situations, must be strong enough to check out its own pathways and places where it has gone astray. I said to myself (narratively): lies must not be told to people who put their head on the block, who swam across rivers in the winter, who leaped onto tanks with knives, who broke through encirclements with hand grenades, and who rescued the wounded. Not only because they are strong enough to take the truth; they are also entitled to it."

"Rummaging about in the past--has a social as well as its moral justification: no group and no individual can live creatively and develop without self-confidence. What is more: in its conformity it is in danger of so conditioning itself as to cease from within to think and act independently and creatively."

"It is with that conviction that I wrote a novel which has not always been received with the same understanding."

The novel "Soc do iutra" is one of the first on the theme of the Cominform in our literature and indeed in our art. And, as Andrej Inkret said, it is one of those which at the same time is carrying the heavy burden of memoirs and the writing of history.

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MACEDONIAN SAWP DISCUSSES ORGANIZATION OF FOOD SUPPLY

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by T. Ivanovski]

[Text] After the supply interruptions, recent days have seen a normalization of the situation, but the nervous state of consumers continues to keep sellers without reserves of basic food supplies. The republic has sufficient reserves to supply the population in a normal manner. More responsibility is needed in the supply system and in determining prices.

The presidium of the Macedonian republic SAWP conference, at its meeting of 28 August 1981 at which the presidents of opstina conferences took part, considered urgent problems in supplying the populace with essential foodstuffs. At the session, held under the leadership of President Azen Zulfikari, it was asserted that a trend toward stabilization was under way in the market. This trend would be interrupted by the announcement of unnecessary and inaccurate information relating to the demand for enormous price increases for edible oils, sugar and milk. It was stated that the SAWP should analyze the concrete situation regarding supply and monitor the conscientious fulfillment of social agreements and self-management contracts in the realm of supply and prices, and that it should make a contribution to more active involvement of consumers and commercial organizations in resolving and avoiding problems that have cropped up. In this way the consumer psychosis that has appeared can be overcome. That is particularly significant since in Macedonia there are sufficient reserves of consumer goods to adequately supply the populace.

Against Pressure On Prices

In expressing its total support for decisions and measures of the Federal Executive Council for eliminating all tendencies toward unwarranted escalation of prices for edible oils, sugar and milk, the republic conference presidium of the Macedonian SAWP exerted all efforts to avoid and overcome all signs and trends that would bring pressure for unjustified price escalation. In that there must be a concrete initiative and demand for responsibility by all parties, for there is talk of actions that are contrary to the policy of economic stabilization and that are not in harmony with a responsible pricing policy.

In his introductory presentation, Vasil Tudzarov, vice president of the executive council of the Macedonian Assembly, said that the executive council and its agencies, in cooperation with other public bodies, would continue to strive for the creation of the necessary conditions for more successful implementation of the stabilization policy, which was formulated in all the plan documents for this year and which certainly includes stable supplies of basic products. In speaking about the situation since 18 August, when the news about the possibility of a price increase emptied the stores, Tudzarov noted that the measures taken in the republic and throughout the country had given definite results. The phenomenon of significantly increased purchases of excessive quantities of foodstuffs was, however, still present. The problem continues to be exacerbated to such an extent in some areas that there is still a problem in supplying the retail system with sufficient quantities of these articles, particularly with sugar. Although since 18 August and until the present day the amounts of oils and sugar delivered to food stores have been essentially doubled, the shops still have not been able to retain stocks of sugar.

Whom Does the Compensation Protect?

There are a number of reasons for that fact, but with synchronized action by all bodies in the republic it will be possible to normalize the supply situation more quickly. There will, however, continue to be certain bodies that will not display a timely readiness to deliver sufficient amounts from stored reserves and warehouses to the retail stores. The data show that the republic has sufficient supplies of all these products that are momentarily in short supply on the market. In recent days there have also been increased deliveries of sugar, and funds have been set aside for eventual imports of this product if such intervention is needed. Thus with the new harvest that will begin in September and with imports, the coming months will see practically a complete solution to the sugar supply problem.

Special emphasis was also placed on the problem of prices and measures that are being taken to protect the standard of living, including the policy on compensation. Macedonia has set aside major funds to compensate for price increases for bread, flour, butter, meat and milk; that compensation has been balanced financially until the end of September of this year. If the present compensation rates are maintained, the republic will have to continue to provide significant funds for this purpose. Therefore the need for attentive and detailed study of essential, realistic price increases was stressed regarding sugar, oils and other agricultural products that should come from the new harvest. In determining these prices, care will have to be taken to hold to the already formulated price policy for this year. Within that framework, several variants exist as to how to cover the differences from that increase structure. First, there are increases that will be transmitted to retail prices, followed by the second variant of reduced compensation, and the third approach of partial covering of price differentials. All of this makes compensation a very complicated instrument from the aspect of the real possibility for improving it, as well as from the viewpoint of its essence and the matter of whose standard it is protecting.

The Return to Consumer Confidence

In the discussion that followed, with the participation of Kiro Krstev, Dzemail Vejseli, Aleksandar Donev, Zivka Dinevska, Zejnel Begovik, Risto Dzunov, Gligor Popovski, Fejzi Milen, Krste Markovski, Krste Nelkovski, Zivko Vasilevski and Azem Zulfikari, a number of problems were raised relating to matters of supplying the population with foodstuffs, price setting, and the need to establish responsibility in cases where the adopted policy is not followed.

Most of the participants in the discussion pointed out that it was impossible to permit everyone involved in setting prices to do whatever he wanted to, and to resolve all problems of his organization by making its products more expensive. The moderation of prices and bringing order back to this part of the economy will prevent the creation of a nervous psychosis among the consumers, such as the one that occurred recently. This will calm the consumer and reestablish confidence in people.

It was stated that the measures that are now being taken to calm the market will have their effect, but a more lasting solution to this problem will require higher and more stable production levels, better operational organization, and improved efficiency in relationships and in preparing agreements. Only by increasing production and productivity will it be possible to reduce the pressure on prices, because only rational production can be cheaper.

As the discussion brought out at yesterday's meeting, we should seek increased responsibility within that framework and try to overcome the verbalism that is often present. Only then was it stated that the Socialist Alliance should very quickly begin to implement the policies that everyone supported and agreed to promote. Only in that way would it be possible to determine what points among those that were expressed and approved, could actually be implemented, and from that, what degree of social, concrete responsibility for actions can be expected. It was stressed that this must be done as soon as possible, for despite all the contracts and agreements, we are once again seeing instances where producers refuse to conclude agreements or fail to honor old ones, because they are waiting for new prices.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PRIVATE OPERATION OF PARKING LOT BETTER THAN SOCIALIZED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Enver Demirovic: "Pension Benefit Every Day"]

[Text] Pero Kabler, who was the doorman at the Evropa Hotel before he retired on a monthly pension of 3,500 dinars (on his own testimony), has no reason or need to complain of his pension benefit, which is undoubtedly small, nor is he excited because of the steady rise of prices on the market. Why should he be, when every day he puts in his pocket another such pension benefit, and this, of course, in cash!

People Have Ways ...

This has gone on (once again according to his own statement) since 1978, when he rented from his former collective the parking lot of the oldest hotel in Sarajevo, which has a capacity (according to a statement by the City Market Inspectorate) of about 100 cars, where for a monthly rent of 10,150 dinars he earns about 100,000 new dinars a month! The "finding" of the inspectorate, the heated discussions on several occasions in meetings of the executive committee of the Sarajevo City Assembly and, finally, the decision of the city "government" to put an end to unlawful enrichment of this kind, did not get him excited at all:

"Everything I do has the stamp of the Evropa, and ask them about everything which interests you. My work and my earnings are honest...."

For "understandable reasons" Pero Kabler will not dwell at length on the question of how much money he actually collects on "his parking lot," but will instead run on at length in praise of his work and his efforts so that those 100,000 dinars which the inspectorate mentions as his "additional" income seems all but token payment.... The parking lot, he said, operates 24 hours a day, and he spends at least 16 there. He parks the cars, watches them, washes and cleans the lot, reimburses possible losses "on the spot" out of his own deposit of 30,000 dinars, and so on.

"If others operated that way, they would not have picked me, but would have given them the 'green light,'" Kabler says.

That is, of course, a reference to Rad, the work organization for municipal services, or rather, its OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] "Municipal Parking Lots," which at one time managed this lot and gave it up for reasons which have not been made clear.

Kabler's colleagues Omer Okic and Petko Jovic have a similar line of "argument"; they are retired and are lessees of the parking lots in front of the hotels Bristol and Terme, respectively, where at "rents" of 7,000 and 3,500 dinars, respectively, they "earn" between 80,000 and 100,000 dinars monthly. Incidentally, the two of them have 100 and 250 parking places, respectively, and, much like Pero Kabler, they employ help which they pay by agreement and, of course, in cash.

Who Would Refuse so Much Money!

The executive committee of the Sarajevo City Assembly recently terminated this operation, issued a harsh reprimand to all three hotels (which incidentally are part of the SOUR [complex organization of associated labor] Ehos) and ordered that before 1 October of this year all three parking lots be transferred to Rad, the work organization for municipal services, which, according to a decision of the city parliament is the only organization responsible for "managing" parking lots which are social property.

However, that was not and will not be the end of this case. After all, the market inspectorate has established that these lessees broke the law by evading the keeping of records on the hiring and remuneration of help, on the reporting of income and payment of corresponding contributions on assets and on remuneration of workers. We should therefore expect that Pero Kabler and company will be more eloquent on these matters in the "dialogue" which is yet to come.

But as for the Europa, like its lessee, it takes quite a calm view of the decision by the executive committee of the city assembly and also the bitterness of the public, convinced that it has acted properly. Ilija Macanovic, deputy director of this Ehos OOUR, does not conceal this:

"We have a really fine parking lot, which is very important in offering a full line of hostelry services, especially to foreigners. That this is the case is entirely to the credit of the present lessee, who spares neither work nor time in getting everything in shape. When the parking lot was managed by Rad, everything was different. They all stopped work at 2100 hours, they did not clean the lot, security for the cars and belongings in them was lax, they did not reinforce damage to cars or theft, they put wheel lock devices on the cars of foreigners, and so on. We directed their attention to this, we called upon them to correct the shortcomings, but this did not help. They went away of their own will, and it seems to me that they could not even have made a profit with that kind of operation. We are willing to turn the parking lot over to Rad or anyone else immediately under the proper conditions, since the only thing we are interested in is that everything on the lot be as it should be--in the interest of the hotel and its guests."

The people of Rad were surprised by a statement of this kind. The director Dervis Zajkovic "was shocked beyond words":

"Now, look here, that is what we live on, and how would we let slip a chance to earn another 3 or 4 million, which is approximately what the lessees are taking in every year on those three parking lots! And had we used them, our OOUR "Municipal Parking Lots" would not have had a loss last year of 600,000 dinars. On the contrary, the city would have had some more free area for parking, since we use surplus earnings exclusively for investments of that kind. As for our orderliness, that shall be seen...."

Many Similar "Managers"

While the principals "take pot shots" at one another, each is certain that he is right. The people of Sarajevo, while waiting for the ultimate outcome, says with philosophical, but also skeptical humor, that it will all follow the traditional pattern, according to the principle "let bygones be bygones," and that no one will get a headache from all this. In any case, how is it that there was such "hanky-panky" with parking lots when the city needs them like bread itself? Along with everything else, the people of Rad say that the inspector forgot to note down the lessees in front of the Kristal in Ilidza and Vrelo Bosne and to concern itself a bit with the Skenderija Center for Cultural and Sporting Events, which is collecting rent from them for use of the parking lot. In other words, the "case of the three parking lot lessees" has only made a current issue of the urgent need to deal vigorously with these and similar cases, which are harmful to the broader social community in many ways. After all, it is not difficult to imagine the epilogue of a possible "investigation" into the management and operation of cloakrooms in all the hostelry and tourist and other establishments, and then the snack bars, bars, restaurants and small dining rooms in the schools of the universities, in societies, in public, athletic and other organizations, where private operators skim off the "cream" and where usually the public sector "has no interest in managing these facilities."

So, while retired people are by and large the managers of these establishments, there are all of 16,000 people waiting for jobs in the city, many of whom would be overjoyed to get this kind of employment, even though the personal income be modest.

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AUTO PLANT OFFICIALS CITED FOR ABUSES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by S. Jankovic: "Cedomir Radovic Expelled From the League of Communists"]

[Text] In an expanded meeting last night the Kragujevac Opstina Committee of the League of Communists spent 1.5 hours debating the unfavorable economic trends in the first half of the year (27 OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] operated at a loss, the losses totaled 700,000 dinars, which is 3.5-fold more than last year) and the tasks of the League of Communists in carrying out the economic stabilization program. Debate lasted more than 5 hours on the reports of the working groups on political responsibility of two former assistant general directors of the Crvena Zastava Plants.

A large number of primary organizations of the League of Communists, in the context of the well-known campaign to clean up negative trends in Kragujevac this year, called for an examination of the political responsibility of Dr Njegos Solak, assistant general director for sales, and Cedomir Radovic, assistant director for general administration and personnel affairs. Thus the opstina committee set up separate working groups, which have made their study and last night submitted their reports.

The working group which studied the behavior of Dr Njegos Solak established that he had not committed any abuses whatsoever in engaging Beograd Inzenjering to do the finishing work on his house, in getting a connection to the city heating system, nor in the other cases which the working group was checking. In the discussion in the meeting of the opstina committee its attention was called to his behavior toward students at the School of Economics in Kragujevac, where he is a professor. Dr Solak himself behaved very self-critically before the working group and in the meeting of the opstina committee, and comradely criticism was pronounced against him.

Considerably more lengthy debate was conducted concerning the political responsibility of Cedomir Radovic, former assistant director of the Crvena Zastava Plants for general administration and personnel affairs, who now holds the position of representative of the Federal Economic Chamber in Warsaw.

The report of the working group emphasized in the meeting several cases of abuse of his position, of falsifying official documents, of squandering money for entertainment while he held the position of assistant general director of Zastava (280,000 dinars in 1.5 years). Criminal charges have been filed with the District Public Prosecutor's Office for collecting insurance from the Dunav Personal and Property Insurance Agency. It especially emphasized his arrogant behavior and manipulation of people, his hiring of a certain number of people in violation of the social compact and without appropriate professional and moral and political attributes. Many such actions of his were pointed up, but this had no effect, though he was a long-standing member of the League of Communists and held several distinguished positions of leadership. His very close relations with the former director of Beograd Inzenjering (wedding in the Cvetna Dolina Hotel, trips to Tunisia and West Germany, etc.) contributed a great deal to ruining his reputation at Zastava and in Kragujevac. He was expelled from the League of Communists for all of this and for his unself-critical behavior before the working group and in the meeting of the opstina committee (he was given the floor twice, but he was unable to dispute most of the allegations).

In connection with debate on the reports of the working groups, the opstina committee resolved to take the initiative in establishing more orderly relations in the housing and municipal service field, such as changing the regulation on allocation of building lots by direct negotiation and the regulation on the manner in which socially owned dwellings are transferred from one user to another.

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BRIEFS

EMIGRATION FROM KOSOVO--In the last 10 years 2,750 persons have left Urosevac Opstina (no one has thus far said he was pressured to leave), 596 persons left Suva Reka Opstina (also no claims of pressure), while 314 families asked to leave Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina following the demonstrations, and 82 families left Kacanik Opstina. At present over 500 persons have requested to leave Pristina Opstina, none of them because of pressure, they say. [Excerpt] [Reprint from RILINDJA] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 81 p 9] The reasons for Serbian and Montenegrin immigration from Kosovo between 1971 and 1981 are varied. It is believed that most families left for economic reasons, but the possibility of pressure put on them to leave must not be excluded. According to initial data, 566 Serbian and Montenegrin families with 919 members left Kosovo in the last 10 years, 345 of whom had jobs in Kosovo. Unorganized work in villages created an area for action by certain bullies, village tyrants, and nationalists which led to requests to leave the village. This was especially manifested in the villages of Gornja Srbica, Ljutoglav, Korisa, Dusanovo, and Smac. It was said that in Gornja Srbica 10 families left and the remaining 13 are preparing to leave. Such is also the case in Ljutoglav and Korisa. No measures were taken against the culprits or against such excesses in the past, nor has anyone been called to account for such conduct. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 81 p 2]

WORKERS EXPELLED FROM PARTY--The "Zinc Metallurgy" worker organization in Kosovska Mitrovica, part of the "Trepca" collective, has 760 workers, 190 of whom are party members. Six members were recently expelled from the LC for participating in hostile demonstrations. Ideological-political differentiation is still going on. Investigations have been initiated against 19 workers, while one has been given a 7-year prison term. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 81 p 5]

MOSLEM ARRESTED--The Bijeljina Opstina magistrate's court sentenced Abdulah Budimlija, pensioned imam from Bijeljina and president of the council of the Islamic Community in this town, to 60 days in jail for violating Article 2, Point 7 of the Law on Public Peace and Order, through slandering and denigrating the socialist, patriotic, and nationalist feelings of citizens in a public place. He expressed and conveyed false reports and statements which incite citizens to unrest. On the basis of Article 310 of the Law on Public Peace and Order, Abdulah Budimlija was ordered to serve the sentence immediately. [Text] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 p 20]

FIRE IN BATTERY FACTORY--A large fire broke out the night before last in the rubber plant of the electric battery factory in Kosovska Mitrovica; the fire gutted about 100 meters of the plant. No one can say exactly when the fire started because at that time not one worker was at his workplace. Everyone was watching the Yugoslav-Danish soccer match on television. The fire department was summoned about 2030 hours when the fire had begun to burst through the windows and spread to the roof. It took 3 hours of considerable effort to bring the fire under control. Preliminary investigation indicated that the cause was a breakdown in the electric installations.... But why were none of the workers at their jobs? What about the stabilization program which we all must be fighting for this year? Where is the vigilance that is necessary at this politically important time in the life of the Province?... [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 81 p 3]

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